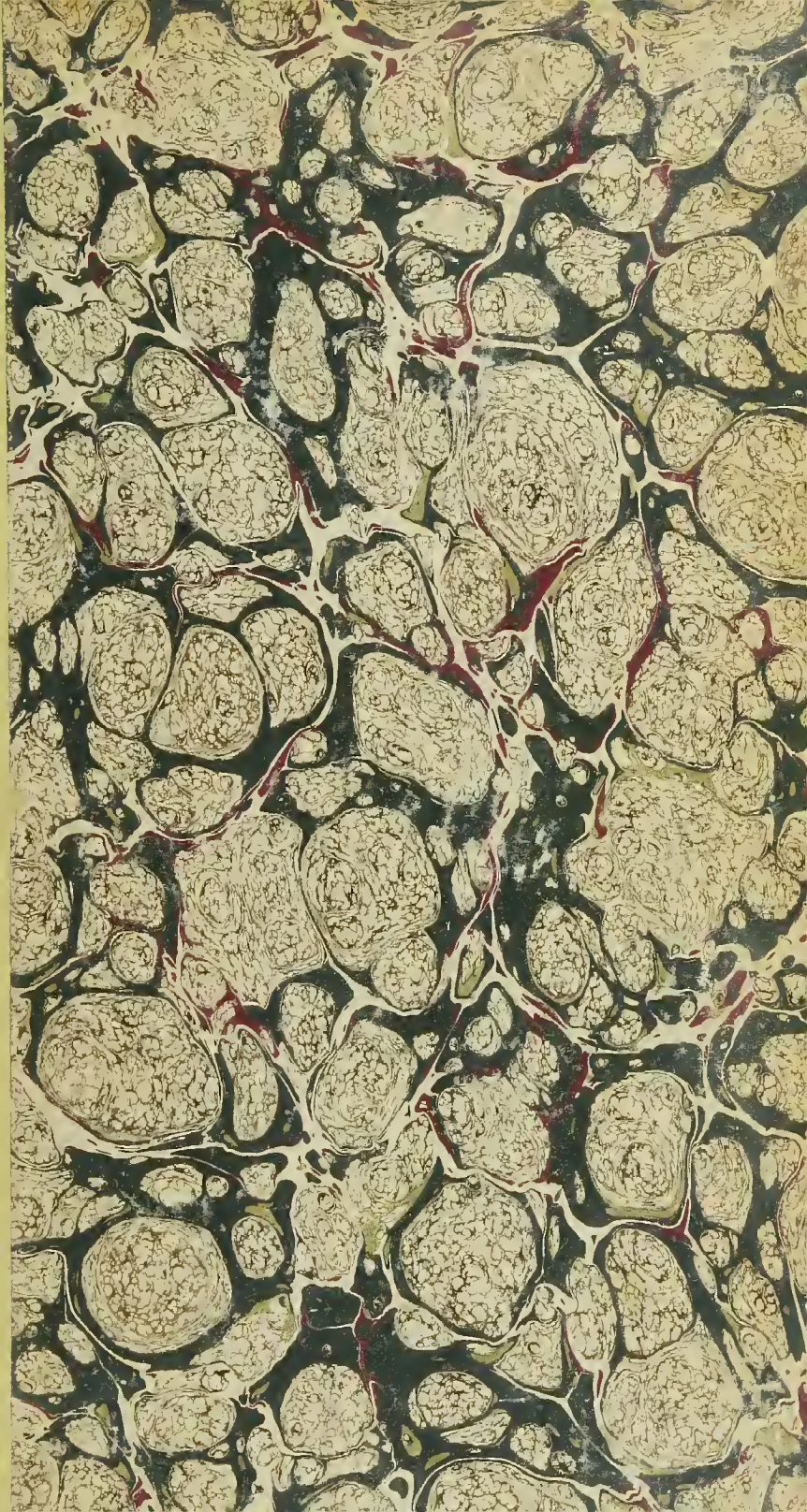

A STUDY

ON

COMPOUND SUBSTANTIVES

IN ENGLISH

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

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UPPSALA 1911
ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In collecting my material I have drawn so largely from the treasures stored up in the New English Dictionary, that the present work may even be said to be founded upon it. Yet, for the earlier periods it has not sufficed; nor has it furnished enough illustrative material to permit of the treatment of some present-day phenomena. In these cases other sources have had to be resorted to.

As it has not been possible to get sufficient material for a comprehensive illustration of all the phenomena dealt with, some points have necessarily been treated more summarily than they ought to have been.

It is a duty and a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor AXEL ERDMANN for the suggestion of the subject of this treatise, to Docent K. F. SUNDÉN for much valuable advice, and to both for the obliging kindness shown to me throughout my English studies.

My thanks are further due to my friend Dr. V. BLADIN for some interesting quotations, and to Mr. S. J. CHARLESTON, Lector at the University of Upsala, for the revision of the English of the MSS.

Upsala, November 1911.

Nils Bergsten.

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Abbreviations (other than those given above).

c = century.
cp(p) = compound(s).
OE = Old English.
ME = Middle English.
MnE = Modern English i. e. the English of the sixteenth century onwards.
G. = German.
F. = French.
OF = Old French.
L. = Latin.
MP = the Morning Post 1910.
Sc. = the Scotsman 1910.
TW = the Times Weekly Edition, 1910, unless otherwise stated.
Stand. = the Standard

Abbreviations not explained here are the same as are used by the New English Dictionary. In cases of examples quoted from that source, only the year and the name of the writer are given as a rule.

When a quotation is found without reference, or a chronological statement without support, it is given on the authority of this dictionary.

INTRODUCTION.

The object of the present study is to examine — morphologically and semologically — appellative compound substantives, both of whose members are substantival, occurring in the different periods of the English language.

In defining the term compound word two things are needful — in the first place to differentiate them from syntactical word-groups, in the second place to differentiate them from simple words. The latter demarcation is simple enough, theoretically; as to the difficulties attending the carrying out in practice of the principles established, see Chap. I. NOREEN puts it thus (Vårt Språk VII 20): »a compound word is such a word as can be broken up into parts, which severally refer to some independent sense-unit existing in the language». By this definition derivatives as well as obscured compounds are excluded. As for distinction from derivatives see PAUL, Prinzipien p. 322, SWEET, N. E. Gr. § 69, TOBLER, Wortzus. p. 1, BRUGMANN, Grundriss p. 5, and others.

The differentiation from syntactical word-groups is more difficult. NOREEN (op. cit. VII 36 foll.) has made a critical examination of older opinions as to the relations between compounds and syntactical groups and rejects them all on account of their shortcomings. By way of his criticisms he arrives at a definition of his own, — a very original one, which is implied in his defini-

tion of the term «word» (VII 13): »a word is an independent sense-unit, which, in regard to sound and meaning, is apprehended by our linguistict instinct to be a unit, either because it cannot at all be subdivided into smaller sense-units, or because, even if it can, one does not reflect, or at least does not wish to reflect, on the special meaning of these smaller sense-units.» This definition actually embraces all compounds, in contradistinction to those of older grammatical writers, which, on account of their greater or lesser inaccuracy, admit either too much or too little. PAUL and BRUGMANN, for instance, draw the limits too narrowly in regarding the criterion of a compound to be the circumstance that »das Ganze den Elementen gegenüber, aus denen es zusammengesetzt ist, in irgend welcher Weise isoliert wird». And SWEET still more so, since he requires of a compound both semological and formal isolation. NOREEN emphasizes that there actually exist compound words which cannot be said to present isolation in any respect whatever, as is proved by his examples G. *ansehen, um .. willen,* Sw. *för .. skull, stå bi.* In English, too, these compounds are very common, e. g. *lady's maid, on account of, out of doors.*

There is, however, one objection to NOREEN's definition: that it pronounces the sole criterion of compounds on the whole to be the absence of reflection on the component parts. Hence, since reflection or non-reflection is a subjective matter, one might be led to suppose that there are no objective or absolute criteria at all. But this is evidently inaccurate, for if one reflects ever so much on the parts in e. g. *book-cover* it remains a compound just the same, which is not the case with compounds of the type *bird's eye* (tobacco). That, then, which is constitutive of a compound in the first example is its formal isolation, by which I mean a mode of combination which is not in accordance with

the rules established in the language for syntactical word-combination. Consequently, if a word-combination is isolated formally, it is a compound.[1] Again, cases where no formal isolation is present may or may not be looked upon as compounds, and there NOREEN's psychological-individual criterion is the only one that can be safely followed. In fact, he makes the distinction himself in dividing compounds into strong and weak.

It appears from the definition that exact limits between compounds and word-groups cannot possibly be drawn, there being a broad boundary area where only intermediate stages are found, varying according to subjective views. This has been emphasized by PAUL, Prinz. p. 304 foll., BRUGMANN, Grundr. II 3, and others. Return is made to this matter in Chapter 3.

If this matter generally presents difficulties, it does so still more when one has to deal with the English language, for here another difficulty comes in. In German and Swedish, for instance, it is very easy to ascertain if a certain combination presents formal isolation or not, but in English one is frequently at a loss to decide whether the first element should not properly be apprehended as an adjective.

Professor EARLE,[2] in his 'English Prose' (p. 72) refuses the name of compounds to combinations such as: *banker*

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[1] NOREEN is wrong when he asserts (VII 56) that *trehundra-sextifem* and *Schleswig-Holstein* are not in any way isolated from the constituents. In both instances there is typical formal isolation.

[2] In his older work, 'Philology of the English Tongue', which contains many rash conclusions and unbacked statements, he propounds the strange opinion that when, in prepositional cpp, the 'of' is abraded to *o'*, or when we hear it in speech, »then there is no doubt of the compound state of the expression». He overlooks that such shortening indicates merely hasty speech, and has no bearing whatever upon the more or less compound state of the expression.

poet, Board School, County Council, field path, the Munroe doctrine, potato disease, stone 'bridge, summer fallow. »Such structures» he says »which consist of two substantives combined by a relation of thought, have in German slidden into the state of compounds; but in English the parts retain their several individuality, and remain in construction, so as to form phrases.» It is hard to fathom by what principles professor EARLE was guided in making this declaration. Why should *Kartoffelpest* be a compound more than *potato disease?* and do not the constituents retain their »several individuality» in the former expression just as much as in the latter? On comparing it, however, with another passage dealing with the same subject (p. 50) it becomes clear what the author's meaning was: »When a substantive is used as an adjective[1] to another substantive, the word so used sometimes retains its separate character ... and sometimes it is so completely joined to it as to make the two words grow together into one» — which is illustrated by *honey bee* and *honeycomb*, of which the latter is pronounced to be a compound but the former to be in »the state of construction». Prof. EARLE, by the way, has here made the same mistake as the Frenchman CLÉDAT in his 'Grammaire Classique', where e. g. *eau-de-vie* is regarded as one word, but *eau de roche* as three words,[2] but in Prof. EARLE's case the consequences become much more fatal in consideration of the extreme inconsistency reigning in English as to the use of hyphens and the running together of the parts in compounds.

Professor EARLE's opinion that a substantive prefixed to another substantive has the character of an adjective is shared by many. The following anecdote told by Dr SWEET in the preface to his N. E. Gr. is

[1] spaced by me.

[2] Vårt Språk VII 54.

very illustrative of the divergence in opinion. He once read a paper before the Philological Society in which he modestly advanced the view that *cannon* in *cannon-ball* was not an adjective. An English philologist sided with him and maintained that no practical teacher possessed of common sense would think of calling it an adjective. But then another eminent philologist got up and declared that *cannon* in *cannon-ball* was an adjective and nothing else, and even found another speaker to support him.

This divergence is very easy to understand, seeing that in MnE the word-categories, on account of the absence of characteristic marks, show a waxing tendency towards intruding upon each other's territory (denominative verbs etc.). Thus, the difference between adjectives and substantives is by no means marked, especially not in the position here in question.

Outside the discussion are, of course, such substantives as, in addition to their original function, have also adopted that of real adjectives, e. g. *choice, dainty, game, virgin.* This category seems, by the way, to be larger than might be supposed, cf. 1862 B. TAYLOR, I thought the sun was dead, But yonder burn his beacons *cherry.*

Of the reasons alleged by KELLNER (Baust. 432) to support his theory that all modern English substantives can be used as adjectives only two have some force, namely —

1) the use of the prop-word *one* after substantives;

2) substantives may be qualified by adverbs, e. g. an *absolutely master card;* the debate was of so very *poor and party a character;* a *distinctly Church of England* institution (WENDT. p. 19). To these may be added

3) the great spread of evén stress and

4) the occurrence of substantives before real adjectival adjuncts, e. g. Times, March 3, 1910, a senior *lady*

sanitary inspector; M. Post, March 8, 1910, the *prison disciplinary system;* Punch, March 30, 1910, *Downing street obstreperous maidens;* TW 1911 87/4, a *railroad official statement;* TW 1911 105/2, a 14-carat *gold keyless quarter-repeating* watch.[1] (Regarding this group the theory might be suggested that they afford examples of cpp with separable elements, but it seems better to admit the adjectival character).

These reasons appear on first sight rather weighty in favour of the theory, but on closer inspection of the examples it is evident that, partly they are merely exceptional (point 2), partly they imply no more than that the substantive in a particular position shows one of the qualities of an adjective — which is by no means the same thing as being an adjective (cf. SWEET § 173). — The result is, then, that a subst. in the position of first element in a compound in numerous cases looks like an adj., and — which was known before — that the boundary line is generally vague.

It may be mentioned in passing that there is especially one group of substantives that is often conceived as adjectives in this position, viz. the material nouns. Thus in SCHMIDT's Shakespeare-Lexicon and in the glossary to SKEAT's Chaucer-edition *gold* and *silver* are given as adj., and in WORCESTER's Dictionary — according to the statement of Teall p. 55, vide below Ch. 3 gen. rem. — *copper, cotton, glass, gold, silk, stone, velvet.* NED is less apodictical, being contented with sometimes

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[1] An old example of this construction is found in TREVISA (Mzn p. 357): a *wonder copped pilour.* Later instances: 1463 Bury Wills *Ferthyng white bread,* 1596 J. DEE, *farthing white loaf.*

TREVISA often uses the word *wonder* in a way smacking of an adj. Mätzner records p. 357: hir *wonder werkes,* on a *wonder wise* þe *wonder cas,* on *wonder manere.* Cf. CHAUCER, too, Troilus and Criseyde I 419 this *wonder maladye.* SKEAT enters it into his glossary as an adj.

making the statement 'passing into an adj.' Dr JOHNSON gives e. g. *stone*, *silver*, and *beef* — which is said to mean 'consisting of the flesh of black cattle', and has a quotation from SWIFT containing the compound *beef-steak* — as adj., but he is not consistent (*leather* and *copper* are not given as adj. though he has the comb. *leather-coat* and *copper-plate*). — The adj. *silver* is said to signify also 'white as silver', 'having a pale lustre', and 'soft of voice', the same signifiations being likewise found in SCHMIDT under *silver*, a.

After all it makes no difference practically whether we call it a subst. or an adj. — it is little more than a matter of taste. Anyhow, the present treatise is not affected by it, or if it is, it is so to so great an extent that the whole division of strong cpp (in MnE) must be said to be irrelevant to the subject in hand. From a scientific point of view it is important that one way of looking at the matter be adhered to. The procedure often adopted by NED of classifying some instances of a word as subst., others as adj., is arbitrary and untenable. Why should, for instance, *giant* be a substantive in *giant world* and *giant race,* but adjective in *giant shadows* and *giant might?* With just as much reason the first element in G. *Riesenkraft* might be termed an adjective. It is no matter that *giant* was once a real adj. (cf CAXTON: grete palayses, *gyantes* toures): in MnE it is a substantive only — or an adjective. A similar example is *iron* where, in most uses, the substantival and adjectival senses cannot nowadays possibly be distinguished.

The chief principle for the division of the subject is naturally that of form and meaning. From the point of view of form I divide compounds into strong and weak in accordance with NOREEN's system; hence,

strong compounds include all such as present form isolation, to which category plural compounds belo All others are weak.

Before entering, however, on the subject prope have thought fit to give a short account of obscur compounds.

I. Form of Compounds.

FIRST CHAPTER.

Obscured Compounds.

According to the definition adopted for compound words a compound is such a word as «can be broken up into parts which severally refer to an independent sense-unit existing in the language». Hence, every compound that does not fulfil this condition has to be regarded as obscured, more or less. Since, consequently, obscured compounds cannot be classed among compound words in the proper sense of the term, they ought to have been omitted as irrelevant to our subject. If, nevertheless, they have been included in the study that is owing to the fact that they have arisen out of real compounds, presenting largely, when partially obscured (or, to speak with WUNDT, Völkerps. I 1 p. 614, in the stage «der partiellen Verschmelzung»), the transition stage between compound and simple words. But because very often partial and total obscurity cannot be distinguished from one another the stage «der totalen Verschmelzung» has been included too.

Obscured are

1) such in which a) one element b) both elements do no exist as independent words, including cpp borrowed from a foreign language.

Exception must, however, be made for those a-cases in which the element in question is in general use in

whole groups of words e. g. *cartwright,* OE *bere-, corþ-ærn, burh-ware* etc. *Wright, -ware* and *-ærn* here approach the nature of suffixes, for, although their real sense may be unknown, their function is perceived perfectly well. Cf Sw. *hatt-makare*, where *-makare* has exactly the same function as *-er* in *hatter.* Similarly *lich-* in lich-wake, -house, -owl, -gate, -path, -stone, has something of the character of a prefix. Excepted are, too, agent nouns, for even though they are used in cpp only the association with the corresponding verb is a constant reminder of the sense.

Obscured are, further,

2) such in which either both elements have become formally fused into each other so as to present the appearance of a simple word, or in which one element (or both) presents a form different from that of the corresponding simplex.

In addition to these there should be a third category: those in which one element (or both) has not shared in the sense-development undergone by the corresponding simplex, e. g. Sw. *liktorn* 'corn', but I have noticed no English examples.

Again, when WILMANNS (Deutsche Gram. II § 410) classes among obscured cpp such as have been subject to sense-development in their entirety or are used in a transferred sense, e. g. *Perlmutter* and *Hahnenfuss* (plant-name), he is decidedly wrong, each element referring to an independent sense-unit. True, obscuration sometimes takes place in this kind of cpp too (e. g. *coxcomb, daisy, gossamer, mildew),* but not oftener than in others.

The causes of obscuration are implied in the definition. Concerning the sound-laws effecting changes of form I refer to PAUL, Prinz. § 238. In addition to those pointed out by him — the principal of which are: consonant-assimilation, vowel-attraction and slurred

pronunciation resultant on weak stress — we may also notice shortening of vowel before consonant-groups, and haplology. Haplology is most probably the explanation of OE *ber-ern* > *bern*, *carcer* + *ern* > *carcern*, and **landandefn* > *landefen*.

That these sound-changes do not occur wherever the requisite qualifications are present is, of course, due to the strength of correcting associations with the simplex. And in modern times another circumstance comes in: the conservative influence exercised by the established orthography through the medium of the printed word. Formerly obscuration could proceed unchecked by any conserving influence, but in modern times such tendencies are counteracted by the fixed literary forms. A glance at the collection of examples below will show that the bulk of obscured compounds originate from earlier centuries, whereas those cases are extremely few when that process has taken place in modern times. Instances of the latter kind are: *boatswain, channel, gunnel, rigmarole*. Of a more or less temporary nature are *cotsall, berrord, witchuck*.

The influence, however, of the estabilished orthography goes not merely to oppose tendencies to obscuration, it also shows its power in tempering or even neutralizing obscuration that has already become established. As long as *cupboard* was commonly written *cubberd* there is no doubt whatever about its having been really obscured, but after the analytical spelling got re-introduced that must, even though the pronunciation remained unchanged, have been a constant reminder of the etymology of the word. That this influence may be very strong at times is proved by *waistcoat*, where «the spelling pronunciation 'weistcout' is sometimes used, especially by ladies» (JESPERSEN, Mod. Engl. Gr. 4.36). And yet stronger it has been in the cpp *grindstone* and *steelyard*, about which JESPERSEN says:

«*grindstone* formerly always 'grinstən', now generally through analogy 'graindstoun' (4.221). *Steelyard,* old dictionaries 'stiljəd', more recent ones sti'ljəd, the most recent ones 'sti'lja'd' (4.35).»

Another instance where the etymological writing must be supposed to have had a certain influence is *vineyard.*

Through the foregoing statements the relativity of the notion of 'compound word' comes out very prominently. It stands to reason that the analytical spelling of *cupboard* is of no consequence to a person who never reads or who cannot read at all. The apprehension is, then, in this case dependent on the degree of culture possessed by the individual concerned. Sam Weller, in pronouncing *veskit,* most probably had not the remotest idea of the etymological structure of the word. Similarly, obscured compounds often occur in vulgar speech or dialectally which are not found in the speech of the educated, for instance *shipmit, workus, nettard.* It may even be said that in these speech-layers obscuration can develop more freely than elsewhere, unhampered as it is by correcting associations. — Another point of view worthy of consideration is the different perception conditioned by professional knowledge. A landlubber may pronounce *boatswain, forecastle,* or *gunwale* in the manner invited by the spelling, but this pronunciation — as far as the latter is concerned — «is at least in Great Britain, never used by persons acquainted with nautical or boating matters». — Another fact still more illustrative of the matter in point is that a compound may be obscured or not obscured to one and the same individual according as he reflects or not on the signification of the constituents, e. g. *Christmas.* It is, then, established that the limits between obscured and analytical compounds are extremely vague, of which a consequence is that several of the cases entered in the list below must needs be disputable.

In the list appended, — which has no pretensions to being exhaustive — I have stated, mainly on the ground of the records furnished by NED, the oldest forms known of the words, and the periods in which they belong, together with — in cases when the available material has rendered inferences possible — a rough estimate of the time when the compounds appear to have become obscure.

A. Compounds obscured through one or both elements not existing as independent words.

1) First element.

OE **butse-carl** < ON *buzu-carl* (NED).

bulrush 15th c.; *bull* of uncertain origin.

by-law, **byr-law** 13th; simplex *by* (ON *býr*) obs. in 14th c.; about association nowadays with adv. *by* see NED.

cess-pool, *-pit, -pipe*, 18th c. *cess-*, 17th c. *cest-;* 1st elem. of uncertain origin.

chapman OE *céapmann.* The first element is recorded down to 15th c. and in contextual uses later still, but never in the form *chap,* hence it is probable that this cp was already at an early date more or less obscured.

charcoal 14th c.; *char* of uncertain origin.

chestnut, 16th c. *chesten nut, chestnut.*

chincough, 16th c. *chyne cowgh.*

cobweb, 14th c. *coppe web;* simplex *coppe* recorded in 15th c.

fugleman < G. *Flügelmann.*

guess-warp 15th c., **guess(guest)-rope** 17th c. first elem. of uncertain origin.

England OE *Engla land* ME *Engle land.*

henchman 14th c. *hengestmannus, henxtman; hengest* extinct in 13th c.

island, 9th c. *i(g)land.*

jollyboat 18th c.; origin uncertain.

lodestar 14th c. *lode sterre*
loadstone 16th c.
} *lode* in the senses of 'way' and 'leading, guidance' obsolete in 14th c.

mermaid 14th c.; simplex *mere* 'sea' extinct in 15th c.

missel-bird 17th c.; *missel* obs. in 17th c.

mugwort OE *mucg-wyrt;* the unumlauted form never occurred independently in OE, the simplex being *micge.*

peacock, *peahen* 14th c., somewhat later is *pea-chick,* and *pea-fowl* is of modern origin; simplex *pea* did not survive OE. Cf. Sw. *påfågel* where the elements are coalesced.

port-meadow, *port-reeve,* etc.; *port* extinct as simplex in 12th c.

werwolf OE *werewulf; wer* extinct in ME.

2) Second element.

OE **áttor-coppa.**

OE **wealh-stod.**

ale-, bread-berry 15th c. *ale-bre(y),* of wich *-berry* is a «corruption due to erroneous etymology», OE *briw* 'pottage'.

cowslip
oxlip
} OE *cúslyppe, oxanslyppe.*

earwig OE *éar-wicga.*

hornbeam, 16th c. *hornebeame;* 2nd elem. only in OE.

nightmare 13th c. *nizt-mare;* last occurrence of simplex *mare* in JOHNSON's dictionary.

nosegay, 15th c.; *gay* sb.[2] 'anything that looks gay or showy' obsol in 17th c.

saltern, 17th c., OE *sealt-ern;* simplex *earn* recorded exceptionally in 17th c.

saltpetre, L. *sal petræ.*

woodwale ME *wodewale* «the latter element has not been explained» (SKEAT, Etym. Dict.).

3) Both elements.

Attercop OE *áttor-coppa,* first elem. obs. in 16th c., second in 14th c.

mistletoe OE *mistiltán;* first elem. obs. in 17th c., the second seems not to have survived OE. Besides the MnE form there appear in the 16th c. forms that are also formally obscured *misselden, mislen,* and others, which represent the normal development.

B. Compounds obscured, totally or partially, through change of form.

1) The obscured form the solely prevailing one.

a) Cases not surviving OE.

carcern < L. *carcer* + *œrn.*

éorod, *éored* < *eoh* + *rád.*

híred < **híw-ræd;* cf the existing *híw-ræden* with the same sense.

landefen < **land-andefn* (SWEET).

láréow < **lár-þéow** } see SWEET in Anglia III 152. The analytical form *lorþeow* exists in ME (SB).
lattéow < *lád-þéow* }

sulung < **s(w)ulh-lang;* see Sweet Anglia III 151.

wéofod, *wéobed, wígbed* < **wíg-béod.*

Note. *feltún, wyrtún, racentéag* may not have been obscured; cf. Sw. *handduk* where in general pronunciation but one *d* is sounded.

b) MnE cases.

auger OE *nafogár; gár* obs. in 14th c.

bandog, 15th c. *band-dogge;* assimil. from 16th c.

barn OE *bere-ern, beren, bern;* the second *e* in *beren* most likely is a svarabhakti-vowel; cf *landefen* ~ *andefn.*

bonfire, 15th c. *bone fyre;* MnE spelling used from 16th c. but the analytical was common up to 18th c.

bowline 14th c.; the obscured character of the cp, which is already evident from the discordance in pronunciation between the first element and simplex *bow,* becomes still more obvious from the side-form *bowling* occurring from the 16th c. onwards. Association with *bow* is present no more here than in

bowsprit 14th c., whose obscurity is warranted by the perverted forms *bore-, boar-, bole-, bold-,* current in the Early MnE period.

bulwark 15th c. *bulwerke.*

caterwaul 14th c. *caterwrawe.*

cauliflower, cp with *cole;* the assimilation with L. *cauliflora* dates from 17th c.

chaffer OE *céapfaru.* The oldest instance known by NED — from the 13th c. — is written *chaffere,* but the cp had probably not become obscured yet as in the century after we find (in the Ayenbite of Inwit) the form *ch(e)apfare;* since then, however, the assimilation seems to be constant.

channel, «corruption» of *chainwale* 17th c.; the obscured form f. 18th c.

Christmas 14th c. *cristmasse;* obscured when *ī* assumed diphthongic pronunciation.

cockalane, obs., a. F. *coq-à-l'âne;* 17th c.

coxcomb, spelling with *x* from 16th c.

cranberry 17th c.

criss-cross, 15th c. *Crist cross;* the spelling *criss* first occurred in 17th c.

cupboard 14th c., obscured «by the 16th c.», as shown by such spellings as *cubberd, cubbert, coubord.* «Since the 18th c. the anal. spelling has prevailed.»

daisy OE *dæges éage,* apparently not yet obscured at Chaucer's time, cf Leg. of Good Women Prol. text B (SKEAT's ed.):

That wel by reson men callen may
The 'dayesye' or elles the 'ye of day'.

Obscuration certain when *ī* assumed diphthongic pronunciation.

dandelion 16th c., a. F. *dent de lion.*

fellow OE *féolaga* a. ON *félage.* This cp must have been fairly obscured already in OE, the second element being no English word.

furlong OE *furlang, -lung, furh-lang.*

futtock 17th c. 'prob. a. pronunciation of *foot-hook*'.

gaffer, **gammer** } 16th c. < *godfather, godmother.*

garlic OE *gárléac;* simplex *gár* extinct in 14th c.

gauntlet or *gantlope* 17th c. «corruptly a. Sw. *gatlopp*».

gorcock 17th c.; *gor* of obscure origin.

goshawk OE *góshafoc;* obscurity complete when *ō* > ū in 16th c.

gospel, according to NED from OE *gód spell,* but later interpreted as *gŏd-spell* f. God; assimilation in 14th c.

gossamer, «app. f. *goose* + *summer*»; 14th c. *gosesomer.*

gossip OE *godsibb; b* > *p* in 15th c.; assimilation in 14th c., but the spelling with *d* occurs, exceptionally, as late as the 17th c.

gunnel, gunwale 15th c. *gonne walle;* spelling *gunnel* in 17th c.

harbour, 12th c. *hereberȝe;* first elem. extinct in 15th c.

heriot OE *here-geatwa,* apparently obscured as early as the 13th c.: *heriet.*

hungil, obs. OE *hundgilt;* oldest ex. 15th c. *houndgilt;* obscure in 17th c.

husband OE *húsbonda*; spelling with *a* in 13th c.

hustings OE *hústing;* probably obscured already in OE as the second elem. was no English word.

icicle OE *íses gicel;* real obscurity probably did not exist until at a comparatively late period, because simplex *ickle* lived still in the 17th c.; in MnE, analytical forms are found in dialects only.

judcock 17th c. «app. for *judge-cock*».

ke(e)lson 17th c., «the first element is app. *keel,* sb., but of the second the original form and meaning are obscure».

lady OE *hláf-dige,* evidently more or less obscure already in OE.

lammas OE *hláf-, hlám-mæsse,* «afterwards popularly apprehended as if f. *lamb* + *mass*».

lincloth 15—17th c.
linseed OE *lín-sǽd* } obsc. when *ī* became dipht.

linsey 15th c. *lynesey,* 16th c. *lince,* «possibly f. *line* + *say*».

litten, obs. OE *líc-tún;* obscure in 15th c. *lytton.*

lord OE *hláfweard, hláford;* hence obscure already in OE.

marigold 14th c. f. *Mary;* the 17th c. spelling *marygold* shows its association with the vb *marry.*

mildew OE *meledéaw, mildéaw.*

Monday, as well as the remaining days of the week except *Sunday.*

narwhal 17th c. a. Da. or Sw *narhval.*

nostril OE *nosþyrl, nosterl;* the latter form points to obscuration in OE. Cf, however, NED as to younger recomposition-forms *(nose-thirl, nose-thrill).*

nuncheon 14th c. *noneshench* < *non* + *shench* (OE *scenc).*

palsgrave 16th c. a. Du. *paltsgrave;* from the 17th c. also *palgrave* owing, perhaps, to association with *pale* (cf NED pale 4).

partaker
partaking } the second-syllable stress — whose presence is warranted as early as the 16th c. by the spelling *pertaker* — points to obscurity, but since they may be associated with the expression 'to take part in' it is, at any rate, possible to identify the first element.

pigsney 14th c. *piggesnye; eye* with prosthetic *n* not recorded later than 16th c.

porcupine ME *porke despyne, porkepyn f.* OF *porc (d)espine.*

rigmarole 18th c. «app. a colloquial survival and alteration of *ragman roll*».

sheldrake ME *scheldrak* (WW 762, 39), in which the first element is *sheld* (SKEAT, Etym. Dict.).

shelter ME *sheld-trume,* OE *scild-truma* (SKEAT, Etym. Dict.)

shepherd OE *scéap-hierde,* ME *schepparde* (Maundev. CD).

sheriff OE *scír-geréfa;* CHAUCER has *shirreve,* which may still be analytical in spite of the shortened *i,* but in SHAKESPEARE we meet *sheriff* besides *shrieve.*

steward OE *stíg-weard, stíward.*

tadpole ME *tade* + *poll* (SKEAT).

wainscot f. Du. *wagenschot,* the earliest example of the use of the word, according to SKEAT (Etym. Dict. Addenda) is in the Liber Albus *(weynscotte).*

walrus f. Du. *walrus;* OE had *hors-hwæl.*

warlock OE *wéer-loga.*

window ME *windoge* f. ON *vindauga.*

woman OE *wífmann, wímmann.*

worsted ME f. the place-name *Worsted, Worstead* = *Worthstead* (CD).

world OE *weorold, world* f. *wer* + **ald (yldo).*

The majority of obscured compounds, after obscuration has once set in, present only one form, but besides

these there is a small number occurring in double forms, owing to the analytical one either continuing beside the other, or to its being called to life again. In a few cases, the obscured form exists merely for a certain limited period of time. The second division, then, comprises such cases where

2) Obscured and analytical forms exist contemporaneously.

OE cases:

hlám-mæsse besides *hláf-mæsse.*

licuma besides *lic-homa.* (Aelfred uses both.) BÜLBRING ascribes the change of vowel to influence from the nasal.[1]

walcrigge besides *wælcyrige.*

wegur for **wîg-gár* : *wegures gewiþspere* (WW 143, 13; cf. ibid. 143, 12 *wigar*).

wimmann besides *wífmann.*

For further ex. cf Ch. 2 A 1.

ME cases:

mykames was a 14th c. by-form to *Michaelmas.* This form was without doubt obscure because no forms without *l* have been recorded, excepting the modern elliptical *Mike* (cf SUNDÉN, Ellipt. words, p. 99). 19th c. dial. forms are *Milemas, Mildmas,* the first of which is found, according to JESPERSEN's statement Gram. 10.15, also in GREENE's Friar Bacon.

wissonday, *whysunday* is recorded in Mzn Wb besides non-assimilation forms *whitesuneday,* etc. A still obscurer form is *wyssonsonday,* to be found in Medical Miscellanies from the latter half of 14th c. («ix days be thwene wyssonsonday & myssomyr-day»).[2]

[1] Altengl. Elementarbuch, 1902, § 408.

[2] See 'Förteckning öfver de förnämsta Brittiska och Fransyska Handskrifterna uti Kongl. Bibliotheket i Stockholm', Stockholm MDCCCXLVII, p. 42.

Note. *Say ȝerde* Cath. Angl., Addit. MS, is probably miswritten for *Sayle ȝerde,* which is the form of the other MS.

MnE cases:

bakus vulgar for *bake-house;* similarly *washus, workus; shipmit* for *shipmate, chizcake* for *cheesecake.*

bedgin dial. for *bedgown* (Wright).

boatswain 15th c., obscured pronunciation in the 17th c. to judge from the spelling *boson.*

borrid, *borrod* dial. for *boarward* (Wright) (cf also *bullard, bulled* for *bullward*).

bridal OE *brýd-ealo;* the individualized form occurs before 1300. That the analytical form *bride-ale,* which »is a conscious retention or restoration of the earlier analytical form», has been able to maintain its ground beside the other must be due to the fact that the simple *ale* 'festival' never became extinct and to the analogical influence from the other compounds with *-ale* : *bed-, church-ale,* etc.

burbolt 16—17th c. besides *bird-bolt,* obs.

coxswain, spelling with *x* in 17th c.; obsc. pronunc. indicated by the 17—18th c. spellings *coxon, coxen.*

gozzard 15th c. *gosherd;* the spelling *gozzard* in 18th c.; through recomposition the modern analytical form *goose-herd* has arisen, which is instanced exceptionally as early as the 16th c. This re-introduction of the analytical form has probably been called forth by the analogy from *cowherd, oxherd,* etc. and by the need for an appellation more intelligible than the strange *gozzard.*

huswife, hussy ME *hus(e)wif,* in which the regular shortening of both vowels — one by position, and the other through weak stress — resulted in total obscuration of the cp when the diphthongical pronunciation was gaining ground, prevailed in this obscured form *(huswife,*

hussie) up to the 16th c., when the analytical form *housewife*, which had never died out, also became frequent. The reason for this was of semological nature, the analytical and obscured forms conveying in MnE different senses. — An analogical case is *good-wife* with its by-forms *goodive*, *goody*, whereas *midwife*, has wholly superseded the earlier *midif*.

nettas, nettus, nittus dial. forms for *neat-house* (Wright).

orchard «already in 9th c., OE *ortgeard* passed into *orcgeard*, *orceard*, whence ME *orchard*, also, with recognition of the second element, *orch-yard, ort-yard*, or, with later conformation to L. *hortus, hort-yard.*» The form-history of this word is particularly interesting. The OE Latin loan-word *ort-geard* — the first instance of which is stated by NED to be found in the Pastoral Care — was evidently introduced by Aelfred, who, in order to render it more intelligible, furnished it with the explanatory addition *geard*. The early total obscuration of the cp may be connected with the decay in Latin lore among Anglo-Saxon priests and monks complained of by Aelfred. (Regarding the spelling *orceard* cf the variation *feccean ~ fetian*). The obscured form afterwards practically remained the only living one, for ME *ort-yard* can mean nothing else than that clerks and monks conversant with Latin endeavoured to reintroduce etymological spelling; the 16th—17th c. form *hort-yard* is even explained as an «affected alteration» of *orchard*.

witchuck besides *witch-chick* (CD).

yernut, yarnot (CD) and **arnut, arnot** are dial. side-forms to *earthnut;* cf the 16—17th c. form *arlyng* for OE *eorþling*.

To wind up the whole, I append some instances of obscuration of, apparently, a purely temporary nature.

With the exception of the Shakespearian forms *berrord* and *cotsall,* which have been recorded a few times, I have not found them instanced more than once (or twice at most). The character, however, of the NED examples is not quite clear, since the lists of forms given there yield no information as to frequency in cases when exemplification is scarce; for instance, the entry «in 15th c. also *aryng*» hardly means, I take it, that this form was current in the 15th c.

aryng, (Medulla Gram. in Cath. Angl. 45: Inauris, the Aryng in the ere), for *ear-ring.*

berrord, bearard used by SHAKESPEARE besides *bear-herd.*

carwaynesterre : Cath. Angl. 59 Artophilaxe, the *carle wensterre.* Arturus, quoddam signum celeste: anglice, a *carwaynesterre.* Cf Cath. Angl. 59 *Charelwayn,* arthurus plaustrum.

cluling for *clew- (clue-) line;* a 1642 Sir W. Monson, Naval Tracts: He hears the seamen cry . . . haul home the *cluling.* Cf above *bowling,* or the form may be due to mishearing.

Cotsall, *Cotsale,* «a corruption» of *Cotswold* (Shakesp. SCHMIDT).

dooket for *dovecot* occurs in Scott, Guy M. . . they lie as thick as doos in a *dooket.*

erdinge for *earth-din,* c. 1375 Barbour's Troy Bk I 455:

> Scho wolde horribile *erdinge* ger be,
> Ande hydwisly wp raise the see. (Also I 465.)

The form is accounted for by the variation *in* : *ing* in unstressed syllables.[1] Perhaps, in this case, the consonant-assimilation had obscured, to some degree, the apprehension of the compound, thus rendering it liable to

[1] See HORN, Beiträge zur Geschichte der englischen Gutturallaute, 1901, p. 52.

undergo the finishing transformation effected by the addition of the *g*. In like manner may, perhaps, be explained *bowling* and *cluling*.

ernut for *earth-nut* 1551 Turner, Herbal: Apios is called also Chamebalanos in greke ... and the same semeth to me to be in Englishe, an *ernut*, or an *erthnut*.

gásric OE, assumed by SWEET to be identical with *gársecg*, is recorded once on the eighth-century casket inscription.

harder man for *hardwareman;* 1548 Hall, Chron.: Then the French *harder men* opened their wares.

wretchock for *wretch-cock;* CD gives an instance from B. Jonson, Gipsies Metamorphosed.

Note. *Burtyme* (Robert of Gloucester, beside *burþe tyme*), *bregyrdyle* (WW 580, 20; cf *brekbelt* ibid. 734, 25), and *Pwbarne* Cath. Angl. Addit. MS, for *Puppe barne* in the other MS, are not likely to have been obscured.

SECOND CHAPTER.

Strong Compounds.

A.

Singular Compounds.

From the morphological point of view there are two things to be observed in regard to a compound word; in the first place, the appearance of the elements, in the second place, their mutual order.

In reference to the morphological appearance of the elements, interest attaches well nigh exclusively to the *composition-joint.* A certain category of changes incident to the composition-joint have already been illustrated by examples in the preceding chapter. Of remaining divergences from the corresponding simplicia presented by compound substantives there hardly exist others than such as are due to quantitative or qualitative changes of the stress-vowels or other transformations bound up with the obscuration of compounds.

In Old English, however, there are a trifling number of additional features, which even though they are of rare occurrence, ought to be pointed out in this connection. They all apply to the first element; the second element regularly accords with the simple word — a rule from which *newe-séoða* forms an isolated exception. The simplex is in this case *séod,* and the difference is due to VERNER's law (se KLUGE, Geschichte der englischen

Sprache in Grundriss I p. 387). These additional divergencies have all been dealt with by KLUGE op. cit.

They are: 1) The variation between mutated vowel in the simple word and un-mutated in compounds. KLUGE gives the following instances (p. 473): *ryge* : *rug-ern; hype* : *hop-páda* (further examples are *hup-bán, -seax); sculd-hæta* : *scyld* (beside *seyld-* BT) to which I add *micge* : *mucg-wyrt* and *ege* : *ag-léca* (connection suggested by Grein). For the explanation of this variation I refer to PIPPING's application of the JESPERSEN theory about 'erhaltende' and 'schaffende Analogiebildung' (Zur Theorie der Analogiebildung in Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique à Helsingfors IV 1906). — 2) Changes due to VERNER's law (KLUGE p. 387): *ear* : *eágor-stéam: tóð* : *tond-beorht.* — 3) Changes occasioned by old gradation (p. 473): *nosu* : *næsþyrel; Eostræ* (BEDA) : *earendél.* — The gradation-form *næs-þyrel* lived up to modern times; NED gives instances as late as the 16th century. Note, however, the existence of simplex *ne(o)se,* recorded since the 12th century and living still in Scotch.

Apart from this it is but the composition-joint that attracts some attention.

Hence it is appropriate to examine the different periods in regard to 1) the composition-joint, 2) the order of the elements, to which are added, as a third subdivision, some statements as to frequency of and faculty for composition.

1. *The Composition-joint.*

We will begin by casting a glance at some phenomena incident to consonants in the composition-joint, which had better be dealt with separately.

a. Assimilatory and related changes apt to befall consonants in the joint. For reference to the bulk of the cases see Ch. 1.

aa. Changes owing to assimilation. Cases are rare. Regressive assimilation is found in OE *bróh-þréa, crampul, elmboga, flēohcynn, hlammas, wimmann,* ME *chaffer, gossip, gressop, litten, wissonday,* MnE *cubberd, gaffer, gammer, nettus.* Progressive in MnE *berrord, futtock, gozzard, borrod, channel, gunnel, hussy.* Reciprocal assimilation shows OE *lattēow, d* + *þ* having coalesced into a third, homorganic sound; likewise OE *orceard.*

bb. Changes owing to the dropping out of a consonant.

α. If two like consonants (or sounds) — voiced and unvoiced count alike — meet in the joint the resulting double consonants are reduced to one. Instances common: OE *feltún, gærstapa, hláford, racentēage, wigar, wyrtruma, wyrtún* (cf also *eorlic, emniht, geornes, wildēor*); ME *aryng, bregyrdyle, erdynge, Pwbarne; burtyme.* MnE *bandog, chincough, christide, partaker, witchuck.*

β. Reduction of other groups.

αα. Initial consonant of the second element drops.

OE *larēow, licuma,* MnE *cotsall, harder man, wretchock.*

ββ. Final consonant of the first element drops.

OE *æcer-spranca, eorod, furlang, hefel-gierd, hired, mear-hæccel, myle-weard, sulung, wēobed; fifmægen, raketēage, recedóm, wēpmann.* ME *Carwaynesterre, chilbed* (Cath. Angl. 63), *gospel, lady, mykames, reklefat, worsted.* MnE *boson, burbolt, criss-cross, ernut, hungil, judcock.* In addition to these, there are some cases in which modern orthography disguises the loss of the consonant, as *Christmas, cupboard, waistcoat.*

In the majority of cases here recorded, the changes in the joint-consonant offer a natural explanation. The phenomenon is, of course, the outcome of a tendency towards pronunciative simplification of sound-groups felt to be heavy. Hence, that the curtailment has largely befallen groups of three or more consonants as also

such two-consonant groups in which the consonants are alike or homorganic — that was to be expected, but it is remarkable that so many other two-consonant groups have been subjected to reduction (of the two-cons. groups recorded above half belong to the latter category).

The obscuration of the elements must, of course, also be taken into account. It is, however, but in part of the obscured cases that the consonant change can be said to have been occasioned or furthered by obscurity, namely, when the latter is primary, as in *Christmas*.

Very often the assimilation or reduction of the consonant-group is primary, and obscurity secondary, e. g. in *gunnel*.

Among the two-consonant cases there are a few that, it seems to me, call for somewhat closer attention.

The cp *fif-mægen* which is given by SWEET only, is striking in so far as it is the sole one out of the many cpp with *fifel* that presents the first element in a reduced form. That the compound is really connected with *fifel* is rendered very likely by the signification, and there being nothing to prove the existence of an independent **fif* besides *fifel*, the former — unless the form is due to the carelessness of the scribe or to some vague association with the numeral *fif* — must be regarded as an abraded composition-form of the latter.

Analogous instances are offered by the adj. *æðele* in personal names (cf. STARK in Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akademie der Wissensch., phil. histor. Klasse 52,291), e. g. Liber Vitae 162 *aeðuini*. The character of this phenomenon is illustrated by Charter CCCXXXIX a° 904 in KEMBLE's Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici, where we read at the beginning: *gewritað æþelræde and æþelflede, heora hlafordum*, further in the subscription: *Aeþrep aldormon and Aeþelfled, mercna hlafardas*, and at the close: *Aeðeredes gerædnis and Aeðelflede*.

The preceding records render it very likely indeed that the loss of the *l* should be put down to the scribe.[1]

Recedom (NAPIER, Old Engl. Glosses 1,273 in an eleventh century MS) and *racetéage* are quite exceptional because they present the loss of two consonants. The former, which is supposed by NAPIER to stand for *reccenddóm*, may be accounted for by assuming that, after the *d*'s had got assimilated, the first element was no longer associated with *reccend* but with the infinitive *reccan*. If so, the *n* had, of course, to disappear in order that the compound might conform with other verbal cpp, of which a great number presented an *e* in the composition joint, e. g. *ærneweg, cépe-stów, ete-land, flyhte-claþ* etc. Why, on the other hand, the *n* should have dropped in *racentéage* (< *racentéage*) is harder to explain, but here, too, it is probable that the assimilation of the consonants resulted in the first element's association with *racente* being uncertain. Analogous instances from other word-categories are *efe*-lang, -láste besides *efen-* and *uf(e)-* weard besides *ufan-*. — The abbreviation of *wǽpen-* (or *wǽpned-*) *mann* into *wǽpmann* may be owing to syllabic influence from *wífmann* in the frequent collocation '*wǽpmenn* and *wífmenn*'.

In Early Middle English there was great confusion as to *n* in the middle of words on the whole; cf., for instance, LUHMANN, Die Überlieferung von Layamons Brut[2] p. 56 foll., who gives some interesting examples from Layamon (e. g. *Westmustre* for *Westmynster, halingre* for *haligre*), and who takes this fluctuating condition of *n* to be the explanation of the puzzling *n* of MnE *nightingale*,[3] *messenger* etc.

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[1] Cf also ME *sayȝerde*.

[2] MORSBACH's Studien zur englischen Philologie XXII.

[3] Formed on the analogy of this word is *yaffingale*, «appar. altered from *yaffle*, the green wood-pecker, with termination con-

The loss of the *s* in ME *reklefat,* a compound with *rekles* < OE *récels,* was most likely due to *rekles* being apprehended as plural, cf OE *rǽdels,* which, however, lost its *s* at an early date also as a simplex. In the Orrmulum we likewise find *recle fatt* 135, but compare with this *recless smec* 1455. The latter form is, perhaps, a genitive.

Excursion. We also meet, exceptionally, with a phenomenon contrary to that exemplified in the foregoing cases, viz. that a substantive, when the first member of a compound, has sometimes an additional consonant or syllable tacked on to it. I have especially noted some cases with *-er.*

Cater in *caterwaul* is assumed by SKEAT to be derived from Icel. *kattar-* in *kattar*-skin etc.; a similar derivation has been suggested in reference to ME *sanderman* and *nightertale* by EKWALL (Beiblatt zur Anglia XXI 1910, p. 49), who maintains, in opposition to SKEAT and NED, that *nighter tale* is an English formation on the analogy of Scand. *náttartíma,* and *sanderman* either an English formation or a Scandinavian one adopted by the English. These seem, however, to be rather bold assumptions, and the phenomena in question remain, I understand, just as puzzling as e. g. OE *cócor* in the compounds *cócor-mete* and *cócor-panne.* As for the former of these cpp cf the Promptorium Parvulorum (EETS) *cocur-mete,* which the editor, taking the first element to be identical with OE *cocer,* renders by 'mud, literally food for the cocker'. Supposing this to be right, there yet remains the second compound, which the signification unequivocally denotes as being connected with *cóc.* — I have noted another

formed to that of *nightingale*» (CD). — *Farthingale* (ad OF *verdugale,* current from the 16th c. onw.) 'a hooped petticoat', must have been associated by popular etymology with *farthing.*

case presenting this strange excrescence: the OE *flurname Wantercnoll* (GRAY-BIRCH, Cartularium Saxonicum III p. 468), supposing that the *r* is not a scribal error for *s*, which is found in the ME version of the charter *(Wantyscnoll,* ibid).[1] The word is undoubtedly connected with *wand,* talpa (Ep. Gloss. 1014), MnE dial. *want.* By way of explanation MIDDENDORFF is inclined to postulate a side-form *wanter,* but this has not been recorded elsewhere.

For my part, I have no positive explanatory suggestion to advance, but merely refer to the German analogues *Aschermittwoch* and *Gundermann* (WILMANNS II 529). I likewise refer to the irregular cpp *Gundelrebe* and *Heidelbeere,* given *ibidem* in the same connection, in regard to OE *Cristel-mǽl* (besides *Cristes-mǽl*). The *l* here, however, may be identical with the OE suffix of e. g. *mæstel-bearh.*

b. The character of the composition-joint in other respects.

A survey of the Old English substantive stems in reference to the character of the composition-joint. *Old English.*

In cases when no reference is given the material has been taken from SWEET's Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon. In order to illustrate more fully the extent and use of the various forms, compounds with other words than substantives for their second elements have occasionally been adduced, chiefly in cases where no substantival compounds have been recorded.

A. *a-stems.*

As a rule substantives belonging to this declension appear in cpp with their simplex forms, i. e. with the

[1] Another variation *r* ~ *s* is presented by *yfer-drype* which according to SWEET stands for *yfes-drype,* a change presumably due to association with *yferra.*

final vowel lost, but in a small number of cases there occurs in the composition-joint an *e (æ, i)*.

Those I have noted are:

æle-pute, *bide*-rip (cp with [ge] *bed*), *cræte*-hors, *dæg(e)*-weorc, *duergae*-dostae (Ep. Gloss. 831), *fulæ*-trea (ibid. 36), *god(e)*-webb, *hæbre*-bléte (WW 9,4) *telg(e)*-deag,[1] *wari*-tréo (recorded once in a charter dated by Kemble to 706), *wer(e)*-wulf, -mód, -gild.

Probably also belongs here *uuandae*uuiorpae (Ep. Gloss.), cp. with *wand* talpa (Ep. Erf. 1014), and *gundae*suelgiae (Ep. 976), cf. NED *groundsel*.

Dæge-weorc is, however, uncertain. The only instance I have found is Judith 265 (SWEET, Anglo-Saxon Reader). The passage runs:

Assyria wearð
on þám dægeweorce dóm geswiðrod,

True, the metre does not absolutely demand the presence of an *e*, but nevertheless there may have been metrical reasons for its insertion, perhaps to make the verse run smoother. But apart from this the form is uncertain, it being possible that the word is miswritten for *dæg-geweorc*, as in *wegelæton* (WW 177,14), which must be a cp of *weg* and *gelæte*, since the latter has not been recorded without the prefix.

Waritroe has to be judged separately. **Wearg-tréow* was perhaps felt as too heavy a combination, but the resolution was not effected by the insertion of a con-

[1] This case, which is given by SWEET, as a cp seems to be uncertain. The cp is recorded once in WW 512,30 *Ostro*, telgedeage. The character of the vowel is rendered dubious by the Latin equivalent, and this is still more the case if the following entries are compared: *murice*, telge (ibid. 447,12), *Ostro*, telge, deage (ibid. 461,21). From this it appears that the *e* is simply the instrumental case. Moreover, the last example, backed by other entries (e. g. ibid. 244,30 telg *uel* deag), makes it more than dubious whether we are concerned with any compound word at all.

necting vowel, as this could hardly result in *wari-*. The probable explanation of the form is, it seems, that an inorganic vowel developed between the *r* and the *g*, in the same way as in *byrig* < *byrg*, whereupon the *g* got elided.

B. *ja-stems.*

Those substantives that have lost their end-vowel in the dictionary-form lack it in composition too, excepting *cynn* : *Cyni*-bald, *cyne*-ríce etc. The rest sometimes keep the end-vowel, sometimes lose it.

1. vowel lost:

fiþer-slieht, *horder*-wíce, *mǽr*-ác, *mæsser*-bana, *stiel*-ecg.

2. vowel kept:

fèþe-cempa, *hierde*-cnápa, *lǽce*-wyrt, *méce*-fisc, *rícedóm*, *rỳne*-mann, etc.

3. variation:

cíes(e)-fæt, other cpp *cíese-* : -hwæg etc.; *end*-wærc, other cpp *ende-* : -dæg, -déaþ etc.; *esne*-wyrhta, *esn(e)*-líce; *her(e)*-geat, -paþ, otherwise *here-* : -réaf, -strǽt etc.; *ierf*-hand, *ierf(e)*-cwealm, -weard, other cpp *ierfe-* : -béc, etc.; *irre*-mód, -weorc, *ir*-scipe; *stycce-*, *stic*-mǽlum; *wít*-ern, other cpp *wíte-* : hrægl, etc.

> **Note.** The cp *hæfte-clamm* is given by SWEET as belonging to the subst. *hæft*, but it may just as well be associated with the verb *hæftan*.

C. *wa-stems.*

The cases with a vowel before the *w* are regular, i. e. present their dictionary-forms, but the rest vary,

1. dictionary-form:

bealo-benn, *searo*-cǽg.

2. variation, dict. form ~ *e*:

smeoro-, *smere*-mangestre, others *smeoro-* : -sealf, etc.

3. variation, dict. form ~ *e* ~ end-vowel lost:

mele-, mil-déaw, *melu*-hús, *meale*-hús (WW 185,27), other cpp *melu-* : -gescot.

D. *ō-stems.*

The long-syllable ones are regular. The others vary.

1. vowel lost:

car-sorg, *gief*-stól, *not*-georn(1),[1] *sæcc*-full, -léas, *scin*-bán, *scol*-mann(1), *scom*-líest, *stal*-gang(1), *þræc*-wudu, *wraþ*-studu(1); *féhþ*-bót, *mégþ*-had (dict. forms also without *-u*).

2. vowel kept:

eowo-humele(1), *nafu*-gár(1).

3. variation, *u* ~ vowel lost:

ragu-finc, *ræg*-hár.

4. variation, *e* ~ vowel lost:

luf-tácen, -ræden, etc. but *lufe*-stice, the *e* of which is explained by its Latin prototype *levisticum* (or by North. *lufe,* cf. Siev. § 278, anm. 1).

E. *jō-stems.*

This group sometimes shows an *e* in the composition joint, e. g. *hilde*-gráp, *helle*-bróga, but it may equally well be considered as inflectional as belonging to the stem. Cf. further Ch. 3 A.

F. *wō-stems.*

Long-syllable cases, no vowel; the rest keep it: *beado*-folm, *sceadu*-genga.

G. *i-stems.*

Long-syllable cases as a rule present no vowel in the joint. The only exception noted by me is: *fielle*-séocnes. — Short-syllable cases vary.

[1] Cases indicated thus have only been recorded in one cp.

1. vowel lost:

rug-ern, *slit*-cwealm, *stic*-ádl, *þyl*-cræft.

2. vowel kept:

bryne-ádl, *ciele*-gicel, *ege*-wielm, *gryre*-bróga, *gyte*-sæl, *hete*-niþ, *hyge*-frófor, *hyse*-rinc, *lyge*-searo, *mene*-scilling, *ryne*-giest, *tyge*-hóc, *wine*-dryhten, etc.

3. variation:

ber(e)-land (BT), *ber(e)*-tún, other cpp *bere-* : -flór, etc.; *cwid(e)*-bóc, *cwide*-giedd; *heg*-stæf, *heg(e)*-ræw, -stów, otherwise *hege-* : -sugge, etc.; *hyp(e)*-bán, *hyp*-wærc, *hup*-seax; *met(e)*-bælg, -ern, -fæt, -láf (BT), other cpp *mete-; slege*-bietel, -fæge, *sleg*-neat; *sige*-béah, -beorn, etc., *sig*-béh.

Note 1. SIEVERS § 263, anm. 5 denotes the abraded forms as specifically Northumbrian.

Note 2. *Drence-flód* is given by BT and Sw. under *drenc,* sb., but it seems preferable to refer it to the verb *drencan.*

H. *u-stems.*

Long-syllable cases regular except *wægn* in *wægne*-þixl (WW 6,44); in the short-syllable ones great variation.

1. vowel lost:

sun-sunu (1).

2. vowel kept:

brego-stól, *heoru*-dréor, *magu*-rinc.

3. variation, *u* ~ *e* ~ vowel lost:

duru-weard, -þínen, -þegn, *dur(u)*-stod, *dure*-þínen, -weard; *nosu-, nos-, nose*-(BT)-gristle, *nos*-þyrel.

4. variation, *u* ~ *e*:

wudu-bucca, -þistel, etc.; *wude*-bricge, -mearc, etc. (MIDDENDORFF). — *leoþu-* ~ *liþe-* (simplex *liþ*).

5. variation, *u* ~ vowel lost:

med-drosna, other cpp *medu-* : heall, etc.

6. joint-vowel *e:*

side-full, líc.

I. *n-stems.*

1. vowel lost.

a) masc.:

ágléc-wíf, *ass*-miere, *ban*-gár, *beorm*-téag, *bróh*-þréa, *cof*-godas, *frum*-bearn, *gedwol*-mann, *geréf*-land, *gum*-cynn, *han*-cred, *pric*-mǽlum, *sceanc*-líra, *steor*-scéawere, *swéor*-bán, etc. etc.

Note. *Spearwa* and *rǽswa* naturally lose the *w* in composition: *spear*-hafoc, *rǽs*-bora.

b) fem.:

ælmes-bæþ, *béc*-tréow, *bell*-flíes, *berig*-drenc, *byrn*-hám, *céac*-bán, *eorþ*-æppel, *heort*-coþu, *mold*-wyrm, *moþ*-fretan (moþþe), *racentéag, síd*-ádl, *þrot*-bolla, *wang*-beard, etc. etc.

Note. The subst. *pirige* forms the cp *pir*-gráf, the unusual shortening being presumably due to association with *pere,* or rather with L. *pirus,* unless it refers to some unrecorded side-form **pire* analogous to *tadde* = *tádige.* — *Mapuldre* forms *mapul*-tréo; cf. SKEAT (Etym. Dict.) who assumes *-dre* to be identical with *tréo.*

2. vowel kept.

a) masc.:

bera-scinn (1) (BT Suppl.), *fléa*-wyrt (1), *hearma*-scinnen (1), *hramsa*-cropp (1) (besides *hramsan-* WW 271,5), *wana*-béam (1, besides *wanan-*), *wéa*-dǽd, *wicca*-rǽd (1).

Bonda is given in the dictionaries in one cp only: *bonde-land.*[1] Likewise *egesa* in the gloss word *egisigrima* (Ep. Erf. Gloss 569).

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[1] SWEET translates 'leased land'(?) and BT 'bond or leased land', but it is evident from the Latin version of the charter cited by the latter — the expression corresponding to the word in point is *terram X manentium* — that the first part of the cp is *bonda* (not **bond).* In his supplement, Prof. TOLLER corrects the mistake and translates 'land held by a *bonda* as a tenant'.

b) fem.:

asce-geswáp, *bieme*-sangere, *ciepe*-léac, *mæsse*-bóc, *miltestre*-hús,[1] *pere*-wós, *pise*-cynn, *tunne*-botm, *wáse*-scite, *wicce*-cræft. — *hælo-bearn* (1).

3. variation, dict. form ~ vowel lost.

a) masc.:

gealg-tréow, late Northumbrian *galga*-tre. *Fréa*-dryhten, etc.; the adjectival cpp *fréa*-beorht, -gléaw, etc. — if in these the 1st elem. is identical with subst. *fréa* — in some instances assume the side-form *fré-*, which, in two or three cases, is even the only one on record, e. g. *fré*-micel, -fætt.

b) fem. and neutr.:

éddre-, *édder*-seax, *éddre*-weg; *circe*-weard, -wíca (BT), otherwise *circ-* : -dór, -friþ, etc.; *éare*-finger, *éar(e)*-lippric, otherwise *éar-* : coþu, -hring, etc.; *hearp*-sang, -slege, -swég, *hearpe*-streng, *hearp(e)*-nægel; *milt*-coþu, *milt(e)*-wærc; *tunge*-þrum, *tung*-full, -wód; *néder*-bíta, -winde, *nédre*-winde, -wyrt.

4. variation, dict. form ~ *e* ~ vowel lost:

bog-timber (BT Suppl.), *boga-*, *boge*-nett, *boge*-fódder (also *bogen*-streng); *hær*-sceard (JORDAN, Altengl. Säugetiern. p. 90), *hare*-wyrt (also *haran*-wyrt), *hara*-steorra (WW 198,34).

5. variation, dict. form ~ *u* ~ vowel lost:

masc.: *hæg-*, *hagu-*, *haga*-(BT)-þorn;

fem.: *wuc*-þegn, -þegnung, *wuc(e)*-dæg, *wucu*-bót (for the last f. cf. SIEV. § 278 anm. 1).

6. variation, *u* ~ *e* ~ vowel lost:

úht-, *úhtu-*, *úhte*-tíd (the two last in BT, North. instances). Dict. form also *úht*, m. (Also *úhtan-*, *úhten*-tíd.)

[1] This form, which is recorded in WW 186,1, is corrected by SIEVERS (Anglia XIII 317) to *miltestrena* or *-tran* hús, because these are the forms in other instances of the cp, and because «man entweder einen genetiv, oder den stamm, aber nicht einen nom. als erstes glied eines compositums erwartet». How utterly unfounded this strange statement is, is evident from the present survey.

J. *Consonant stems.*

These stems are regular with very few exceptions. The exceptions are:

1) *hnutu* : *hnut-béam, -cyrnel;*

2) *nectigale, nihtegale;*

3) two *os-, es*-stems. Those *os-, es*-stems which kept the suffixal *r* in all forms also kept it in composition, and there is only one exception to note: *hrýþer,* which regularly lost the suffix when first element in a compound, e. g. *Hriðden* (MIDDENDORFF p. 77), *riþ-fald* (WW 195,34), *hriþ-hiorde* (ibid. 9,23 and 358,25); the suffix is only recorded in a side-form to the last mentioned compound: *hrýþer-hiorde.* As to those losing the suffix in the singular, only one retained it in composition, namely, *ég* in the two cpp *éger-felma* and *éger-geolu.*

In the preceding survey two circumstances are rather striking; in the first place that in some cases the vowel in the composition joint is different from that of the dictionary-form, in the second place that in a limited number of cases there is a joint-vowel when the dictionary-form has no end-vowel at all.

Of these irregularities a likely explanation suggests itself only for the first category. The instances belonging here may mostly be explained as Northumbrian forms; thus the *n-* and *u*-stems, whose end-nowels were very unsettled in that dialect (Cf. SIEVERS § 270 anm. 2, § 276 anm. 5). Such cases as are recorded from Northern texts are, of course, clear, but those, too, that are not may reasonably be put down to influence from that quarter. Cf, too, the cp *butse-carl,* which is only recorded from the OE Chronicle (11th c.), but which by reason of its Scandinavian derivation (NED buscarl, a ON *buzu-carl*) is very likely to be a Northern dialect word. Likewise *ride-soht* < OW Scand. *riðusótt* (BJÖRKMAN, Scand. loanw. p. 161).

In how far Scandinavian influence is to be assumed, I am not in a position to decide. In *bondeland,* however, we probably have one case, as *bonda* < Scand. *bóndi* (BJÖRKMAN op. cit. p. 205).

The cases belonging to the second group are the a-stems, the long-syllable i-stems, *nihtegale,* and the compounds with *leoþu- (liþe-)* and *cyne-*.

To these I add some from GRAY-BIRCH's Cartularium Saxonicum, excerpted by MIDDENDORFF in his Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch, to which I do not, however, attach much substantiating weight on account of the unreliability of the dating of the charters, which I have not been in a position to test. With the exception of *friðæ-léah,* which is taken from a charter of 804, and of *smèce-cumb,* from the 8th c., they are all found in charters dated from the tenth century:

a-stems: *gæcce*-légе *(gæc,* m. 'fool or wag', supposed by MIDD. to be identical with *gèac), horse*-dich, *scèpe*-clif, *wearge*-dún, -burna, *Wride*-wellan (*wrid,* m. 'Wurzelwerk'); i-stems: *hlỳpe*-burna, *smèce*-cumb; others: *crane*-mere, *friðæ*-léah (*frið,* m. 'underwood'), *hine*-hyll (*hen,* m. 'Hüne. Toter'), *seaxe*-seað (*seax,* n. L. saxum).

How are these to be accounted for? In my opinion there are only three alternatives possible: the vowel is

1) a continuation of the lost stem-vowel;

2) transferred analogically from another stem;

3) a pure connecting vowel, i. e. a vowel that is neither stem nor inflection.

The first alternative accounts well for several of the cases, namely, those that have been recorded in the oldest periods *(cyne-* [8th c. WW], *duergaeduostae, fulætrea, gundaesuelgiae, hæbreblete, wægneþixl).* There is scarcely any doubt that in these instances we have to deal with the old stem-vowel, which, in the sheltered position in the composition-joint, had maintained its ground somewhat longer than in the simple word,

— the same phenomenon that meets us in the case of *liþ* and its composition-form *leoþu-*. (This explanation also holds good in the case of the two *wa*-stems *smere-* and *mele-*, where, however, the quality of the vowel may be put down to assimilatory influence). The obscured form of the vowel is in no way calculated to cause surprise, seeing that in the examples quoted the vowel was entirely lost in the simple words, and that, consequently, the joint-vowel was but a faint echo of the earlier full form. In *leoþu-*, on the other hand, the vowel accorded with the one regularly appearing in the short *u*-stem cpp. — In reference to *nihtegale* SKEAT maintains (Etym. Dict.) that the first element is nothing but the genitive case, and in this opinion he appears to be supported by KLUGE-LUTZ (English Etymology). True, it may gradually have become associated with the genitive *nihte*, but since that seems to be of later origin than the compound — the earliest record of gen. *nihte* found in BT is from King AELFRED's translation of BEDE's Ecclesiastical History, whereas *nihtegale* occurs in the oldest glosses — it cannot account for the earliest records. Moreover, one of the oldest forms is *nectigale*. The *i* must be the same as is found in other old Teutonic dialects, e. g. OHG *nahtigala*, as to the explanation of which see GRÖGER, Die althochdeutsche und altsächsische Kompositionsfuge. Zürich 1911, p. 37. The OE sideform in *-e (æ)* cannot but be identical with OHG *nahtagala*, about which see ibid. p. 45.

The second alternative has been proved to be the cause of the presence of the joint-vowel in the case of *were-*. The earliest records of the compounds with this word have no *e* in the joint, e. g. *wermod* WW 2,15 and *wergild* in CNUT's laws, it being only gradually that it appears. NAPIER, who has treated the subject in PBB XXIII 571, conclusively proves that the reason for its appearance was analogical influence from the group *here*,

mere, spere etc., and that this influence later led to its being tacked on also to the simple word.

The instances remaining to be accounted for are, apart from the charter cases, *ælepúte, bide-ríp,*[1] *crœte-hors, fielle-séocnes,* and *liþe-*. In order, however, to avoid repeating the same things twice over, I will put off dealing with these, all of which have been recorded only from the later periods, till I can treat them in connection with some analogous phenomena in Early Middle English.

Excursion on a peculiar use of the suffix -ing in compounds.

The ordinary use of the substantival suffix *-ing* in OE is that of forming patronymics, but it is not restricted to this function. KEMBLE, in Proc. of Phil. Soc. v. IV p. 1, has pointed out a very common use of *-ing* that cannot possibly be patronymic, namely in combinations of the type *Céolmunding haga.* He pronounces as his the rather curious opinion that this *-ing* has genitival function, a use of the suffix peculiar, according to his view, to OE personal names; against this opinion of KEMBLE's, TH. WATTS, Esq. maintains (in the same volume p. 83) — as it appears, plausibly — that the *ing*-form in question is an inflexible adjective analogous to G. *Pariser, Breslauer.*

There is, however, yet another OE use of the suffix, which is of a rather puzzling character: I allude to its occasional occurrence in common appellative nouns when first members of cpp. As far as I know, it occurs only in one special kind of literature, the charters. I quote from MIDDENDORFF:

friððing-den (frið, m; Buschwerk)
hæcinga hleah (hæc, f.)

[1] May be due to association with *biddan.*

lácing bróc (lacu, f.)
lilling-léa (lil(l)e, f. Nebenform von *lilie*).
mealcing méd (meolc)
stétting-forda (stéte, f.; stétt, f. Pflaster)
wassing-wellan (wasse, f., Schlamm)
douning-leigh (dún, f.).

As to the explanation of these *ing*-forms, two alternatives occur to me:

either they are substantives, being in such a case either derivatives of the same kind as MnE *bedding, sacking* — an assumption made by MIDDENDORFF in reference to *waling-den,* which he connects with *walu,* f. 'Zweig, Stab' —, or isolated words — which may be surmised in the case of *lacing,* cf BT —;

or they are adjectives belonging to the *en*-group (*stænen* etc.). The substitution of *-en* by *-ing* may be due to a variation *en* ~ *ing* recorded in a few cases: *fæðering-mæg* ~ *fæderen-mæg, réding-* ~ *réden-gewrit, Cyren-* ~ *Cyring-ceaster, mæsling* ~ *mæslen;* cf also *swésend-dagas* ~ *swésing-dagas.* The signification is attended by no difficulties, because the material sense, the regular force of the suffix, was frequently extended beyond that limit, as in *géten* 'belonging to goats'. (Cf, too, the MnE dialect form *calven* 'of a cow: having lately calved' [Wright]).

> **Note.** *Abbing-leie* (abba) and other derivatives from personal appellatives rather belong to the KEMBLE category, mentioned above.

I will in this connection discuss a couple of compounds whose nature is as dubious as in the cases just now treated.

SWEET and BT give the compounds *restendæg* and *resten-géar,* for the latter of which, however, I have not been able to find any true reference; the one given by

BT — Lev. 25,5 — is wrong according to GREIN's edition (Bibliothek der Angelsächs. Prosa I), which has *reste-géar*. But *resten-dæg* exists, at any rate. SWEET alone has *eten-lés* 'pasture', for the existence of which we have to take his word, as he as usual gives no reference. The first element of this compound, unless it is identical with *eten, eoten* 'giant', must have something to do with the verb *etan* or, rather, with *ettan*.

It seems not to be quite out of question that these forms are further instances of the variation *ing* ~ *en* referred to above, and that, hence, they should be interpreted as **resting-dæg, *eting-lés*. As to the latter word, this is the one explanation I can think of, but for the former there are also other possible explanations. In addition to association with the adjectival group in *-en,* which appears rather plausible too, we may suggest influence from *Sunnandæg*. The irregular *e* might in such a case be ascribed to the side-form *reste-dæg,* the joint-vowel of which could not be supplanted by that of the other word. Thus, *resten-dæg* would afford an instance of 'erhaltende' and 'schaffende Analogie' acting jointly. (Cf., however, as to the *e* a variation *en* ~ *an,* very sparingly recorded: *bogen-streng* for *bogan-streng* [BT]; *gryndenbróc* ~ *grindan* bróc [MIDDENDORFF], *tittandún* ~ *tittenhalh* [ibid.]). —

Of a similar character is, undoubtedly, the Layamon word *scipen-monnen* (Brut A 13795:

wið-uten þan scipen-monnen
þe weoren þer wið-innen.

Quoted after ZUPITZA-SCHIPPER, Alt- und mittelenglisches Uebungsbuch, 7 aufl.).

Middle English.

In Middle English, the composition-joint presents great confusion mirroring the state of things prevailing with regard to the end-vowel of simplicia. Inferences

as to the relation between the composition-form and the corresponding simple word are, therefore, attended with considerable difficulties; nay, inferences are practically impossible when we come down as far as the fourteenth century, at which period the increasing tendency of the end-*e*'s to become silent, and the confusion in spelling arising therefrom, bars the possibility of distinguishing between spoken and merely orthographical *e*'s. Hence, Early Middle English is the only period in which observations can be made.

In a given case, it has to be settled whether the inorganic *e* exists, or has existed previously, also in the simplex, or whether it appears exclusively in compounds. It is, of course, only in the latter case that any interest arises, for even though, in an instance belonging to the former category, the end-vowel has disappeared or ceased to be pronounced it is evident that its presence with syllabic character in the composition-joint is nothing but a remnant of the end-vowel of the simple word. Thus, in the example:

of mi lioun no help i crave, i ne have none other
foteknave
(Iwain and Gawain, SB)

foteknave apparently presents a syllabic *e* at a time (1st half of the 14th c.; cf MORSBACH, Mittelengl. Gram. § 77) when final *e* was silent in the Northern dialects.

In deciding whether a given simplex has the end-*e* at a certain period or lacks it, difficulties characteristic of Middle English appear. To class ME substantives generally according to the presence or absence of final *e*'s is wholly impracticable owing to the fact that the prevailing tendency of attaching an inorganic *e* expresses itself very differently in different writers or in different copyists. Hence, all that can be done is, at most, to settle the matter with regard to one particular writer

or, rather, to one MS. For instance, Orm's *esste-mete* and *Sallme-wrihhte* (SACHSE, Das unorganische *e* im Orrmulum, p. 63) might be regarded as containing a connecting vowel as far as the Orrmulum is concerned, since there the first elements always occur without an end-*e* when simple, but the *e* is found elsewhere, e. g. *saume* c 1280 in S. Eng. Leg. (NED) and *esste* in Old English Homilies and Owl and Nihtingale (beginning of 13th c. SB).

Such compounds as *helle fir, rode pine, sawle nede* are irrelevant, as most likely they contain a genitive, and still more so *kirrke-dure, eorþe-riche, belle-dræm,* for, if here the end-vowel is not genitival, it must be the nominative-vowel inherited from Old English.

This kind of *e* is likewise precluded in the Northern forms *handewerk* and *hande writt,* but as to these I wish, in passing, to make a small observation. NED suggests Scand. *handa* as the origin, and SACHSE[1] alternatively that and OE *handgeweorc, -gewrit,* but why not assume the OE genitive *handa?* The instances given by NED are:

ORMIN, Mann iss Godess *handewerrc,*
Cursor M., Mi *handewark* als egges me.
ORMIN, þurrh Moysesess *hande writt.*

There is nothing to hinder the supposition of genitival groups on the OE model, nay, it is rather supported by the separation of the elements in the last example. Analogous instances are Orm's *preste-flocc,* where the first part is taken, also by SACHSE, to be OE gen. pl. *préosta,* and Layamon's *hænde craft* (Brut 4899 A-text; B-text has *hendi craftes*).

Note. WYCLIF's *handibrede* (NED) may have been formed on the analogy of *handiwork, handicraft.*

Those cases in which the omission of the vowel in the simplex appears to be consistent are, as far as my

[1] Op. cit.

material shows, extremely few. Those I have noted are — besides *nihtegale* — as follows (I indicate the time of the earliest record of the forms):

12th c. *bismere-spæche* (SB);

c 1200 *husebonde* (NED);

beginning of 13th c. *horse-bere* (SB); *huse-laverd, huselefdi* (Mzn Wb.); *husewif* (NED); *werke-dei* (SB);

c. 1300 *horse-knave* (Havelok 1019:

> For it ne was non horse-knaue
> þo þei sholden in lande haue).

To these we may add *whyrlegyge,* given, though without reference, by CD as a ME word. It must be considered as certain by reason of the MnE form.

Now, how shall we explain these cases and those OE ones not yet dealt with? (see p. 41). Can they be assumed to preserve remains of the prehistoric stem-vowel? This supposition seems to me to be little probable, if only because the cases appear so late. If it were true, the compounds must have existed all the time and not have cropped up in literature till at a late period; but to suppose that is, I think, entirely without foundation. And there is, in point of fact, a circumstance that argues directly against the assumption, viz. that a great many, or all the ME cases given above were current earlier without an *e* in the joint. What would be the sense in maintaining that the vowel, after it had been gone for hundreds of years, suddenly appeared again at so late an epoch! Too rash, therefore, was JUSTI's[1] conclusion that when a vowel is seen in the composition-joint in a Teutonic dialect, at however late a period, it is a remnant of the old theme (p. 66).

The explanation suggesting itself, perhaps, most readily is analogical influence. That would be, for the

[1] F. JUSTI, Die Zusammensetzung der Nomina in den indogermanischen Sprachen zunächst in Hinsicht ihrer Form. Marburg 1861.

OE cases, from the *ja-* and short *i*-stems, for the ME ones from the numerous compounds that had a syllabic *e* in the joint in accordance with the simplex form of the first member. Nor does this explanation seem to be very probable, for then remains to be explained, firstly, why all compounds with the first element in common do not show the joint-*e*, secondly, why the influence did not extend to the simple words.

It would appear, then, as though the *e* were a mere connecting vowel. This assumption is in itself by no means out of place — cf TOBLER, Wortzus. p. 46, who admits the possibility of a connecting vowel in German instances as *badegast, pferdestall* —, although the scarcity of recorded cases really argues against it, for even if — as must naturally be the case — a number of instances have escaped me it is obvious that the phenomenon is of particularly rare occurrence. However, no definite opinion can be formed, it seems to me, as to the force of this argument until the causes for the presence of the vowel have been made clear, and the cause is in the majority of cases obscure. Only one suggests itself quite naturally: phonetical influence, but this one applies merely in a few cases.

Phonetical influence no doubt occasioned the joint-vowel in *gode-webb*. The one record of this form contained in BT runs:

Mid golde and mid godewebbe gefrætewod.

It comes very natural to assume that the appearance of the extra vowel is perfectly analogous to that in *gefrætewod*. Similarly in *husewif*. (Euphony may have been a concurrent cause in one or other of the earlier OE cases e. g. in *duergaedostae* or, in the form given in SWEET's Dictionary, *dwerge dwósle*; here the heavy consonant-group would certainly tend to be broken up). —

Modern English. In Modern English, joint-vowels are rarer still, i. e. such as -are added to the simplex form of the first element. Apart from *handicraft* and *handiwork*, whose *i* is a reminiscence of OE *ge-*, together with the analogical coinages *handicuff* and *fisticuff* and some loan-word or other, as the Dutch *burgomaster*, I have noticed no other MnE joint-vowels than those in *polliwog*, *whirligig* and *work-a-day*.

Regarding *whirligig* and *work-a-day*, as they are derived directly from ME *whyrlegyge* and *werke-dai* we are consistently bound to denote their joint-vowels as connecting ones in the above sense. The novel quality of the vowel is recorded, as to *whirligig*, as early as in PALSGRAVE 1530 (as stated in FLÜGEL, Engl.-Deutsches Wörterb.), as to *work-a-day* from SHAKESPEARE *(worky-day)*. SHAKESPEARE uses only the form *worky-day*[1] but *whirlegigge* is retained in the first folio. *Whirlipool*, presumably coined by analogy, is also written with an *e* in the folios. Other analogical coinages are *whirlicote* (Stow 1599; FLÜGEL) and *whirly-bat* (N. Bailey 18th c.; CD).

The reason for the vowel's having been able to hold its own in the teeth of the universal silence of end-*e*'s must be sought, in the case of *werke-dai*, in the circumstance that it was used at an early epoch in its transferred adjectival sense, [Cf. in SHAKESPEARE 'a *worky-day* fortune (SCHMIDT, Sh.-Lex.)], and that, on this account, it ceased to be apprehended as a compound of *work*. As for *whyrlegyge*, the simplex *whyrl* (hwirl) is unrecorded during the whole of the Middle English period, and hence there were no repressing associations. That the quality of the vowel was gradually changed is, may be, owing to its becoming confused with the adjectival suffix *-y*, which fact has nothing surprising in it, seeing that there no longer existed any sounded end-*e*'s.

[1] besides *working-day* (e. g. this w.-d. world).

As to the first case, its forms are recorded in NED as follows: 16th c. *polwigge,* 17th c. *polewigge,* 19th c. *porriwiggle; polli-, polly-wig, -wog,* and the compound is stated to be made up of '*poll,* sb. + *wag,* vb.'. It may be almost taken for granted that we are here concerned with the hypochoristic suffix *-y,* as in e. g. *goosey-gander,* though in the latter case the suffix is not characteristic of the compound, *-ey* being attached also to the simplex *goose.* The supposition that the vowel continued syllabic from ME *polle,* which has been recorded from the 13th c., is less probable on account of the 16th c. vowelless form. —

In regard to the MnE spelling *work(-)a(-)day* it must be due to the vowel's being reduced in pronunciation to vocal murmur, which is the ordinary sound of toneless *a.*

Finally it should, however, be pointed out that the chapter of MnE joint-vowels may not be exhausted with what has been said above, as in the dialects there occur cases which are hard to explain, e. g. *barmysponge, fieldifare, wantyskin, wantytump* (WRIGHT, Dial. D.). And, according to the statement of NAPIER and STEVENSON (Crawford Charters in Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediæval and Modern Series VII, p. 51), there exists a tendency in the South Western dialects «to add an *i* or *y* at the end of certain classes of words, and especially between the two parts of compound place-names», a similar tendency being recorded also for the dialect of the Hundred of Berkeley.

Excursion on a peculiar use of the suffix -ing.

In MnE, too, occurs a peculiar use of this suffix. Words in *-ing* when occurring as first members of compounds in MnE, unless they belong to the limited number that are independent substantives, as *flooring,*

lettering, have the character of *action-nouns.* As a rule they suggest without difficulty the corresponding verb, but, owing to the owerwhelming extent of the formation of denominative verbs in MnE, which has already gone so far that pretty nearly every substantive can assume the functions of a verb, they are sometimes used in cases where there is no verb to match, or where the verb does not exist in the sense required by the action-noun in the compound. Some examples: *Boxing-day* is the name of a day when servants and others «expect to receive a Christmas box». As 'to box' does not occur in the sense of 'to confer or to receive boxes' the first member cannot directly suggest the verb. Nor can that of *fielding-piece* (16th and 17th c.; = *field-piece*), or of *dukeing-days* (1894 WOLSELEY, Marlborough: During his previous visit to the West, during what was locally known as 'the Dukeing Days'). But even if there exists no actual verb the substratum of the formation is a verbal notion, it being possible to apprehend *fieldingpiece* as 'a piece used in fielding' where the *ing*-form has a nonce-sense of 'being out in the field' or something like that. The same is true of *heading-course* (1659, 1776) 'a course of bricks lying transversely or consisting of headers' and *'coursing-joint'* (1874 KNIGHT, Dict. Mech.) 'the mortar-joint between two courses of bricks or stones'.

But *watering-place* is harder to account for, since it has gained universal currency and since the general linguistic feeling might be expected to resent so exceptional a formation. A verbal nonce-sense of 'to go to the waters' or the like is, therefore, a less probable explanation. Another way of accounting for the word is to assume that the sense 'a place where people resort for the purpose of drinking mineral waters' is the primary one which would be explained from a jocular application of some one or other of the senses of 'to water',

whether it be the notion of 'watering horses' or that of 'taking in water (of ships)', and that the expression became afterwards extended to denoting also 'baths'. A correspondent of Notes and Queries states, however, — quoting a record from 1788 — that «this appellation seems to have been given originally to places famous for their waters. whether baths, springs, or wells» (7th series, VII 377).

Coaling-money in NED's example (1708) 'A piece or Guinea to drink the good Success of the Colliery — is called their coaling-money' is certainly a case of transferred sense (i. e. from some sense associated with the verb 'to coal'); probably the transfer is local.

An illustration of the way in which this extension may take place is afforded by the employment in Punch of the word *booking-office*. In that paper it regularly heads the division for literary reviews, thus being used in the sense of 'office for (the reviewing of) books'. Even though this use is consciously jocular, it is illustrative of the manner in which new senses can develop.

In the preceding cases there is at any rate some relation, however vague and indistinct, with a verbal notion, but what is the function of the suffix in the following instances?

KIPLING, Barrack Room Ball., the Engl. Library ed., p. 139:

And gummed to the scalp was a letter which ran:
In *Fielding* Force Service. Encampment, 10th Jan.

COLERIDGE, Table-Talk: The old coenobitic establishments.. were converted.. into monasteries and other *monking* receptacles.

1636 MASSINGER: *ploughing-iron* = *plough-iron* 'any iron part of a plough'.

1656 BLOUNT: *Gartering* vein (beside *garter-vein*).

WRIGHT, Dial. D.: *arming-chair* = *arm-chair*; *wanding-chair* 'a child's wickerwork chair' (cf. *wand* sb. 2 'a willow wand; an osier; wicker').

It would seem that the suffix is wholly out of place in these cases. From the point of view of signification the first members of the cpp referred to are the sbs *field, monk, garter* etc., the *-ing* being an altogether unnecessary addition. The probable explanation is, I believe, that the *ing*-forms are simply used wrongly, that the suffix has slipped in from carelessness or lack of consideration, to which must be added, in the Kipling instance, the need for another syllable for the sake of the metre. However this may be the *-ing* has, in the examples quoted last, exactly the character of a 'connecting syllable, so to speak, because it has no semological function.

2. *Order of the Elements.*

Compounds are, in English as well as in other Teutonic languages, mostly final determinatives — that is to say, such in which the second element, as conveying the idea, is determined by the first. The contrary kind of compounds, initial determinatives, also exists in the language, but they are in all periods merely exceptional. As regards substantival compounds it is surprising to find that they do exist at all, as such formations must be wholly contrary to the spirit of the language, and they most assuredly owe their existence, in each particular case, to some special reason, even though this is often obscure or hard to trace.

There is, however, one group of compounds that must be dealt with separately, namely, those belonging to the semological categories called, in the terminology adopted, status identitatis and interferentiæ (for

convenience sake here referred to as appositional cpp). On account of the semological relation between the elements in this group, it is sometimes difficult to decide which of the two is qualifying, and which is qualified; in numerous cases it is even immaterial, or a matter of taste, whether the one or the other element ought to be regarded as the chief one. The consequence is that the components are often interchangeable without the signification being affected, in contradistinction to other compounds, whose members, in the vast majority of cases, present a fixed order. But in appositional compounds, too, usage, for the most part, has fixed upon one particular order. So it is, for instance, in that group of animal names in which the other member denotes the sex of the animal.

Old English.

In Old English, the rule is that in cpp belonging to this group the member which denotes the sex is put first, e. g. *carl-catt, cilfor-lamb, cú-cealf, cwén-fugol, eofor-swín, fearr-hrýðer, oxan-cealf.* In a few cases only the order is inverted: *ass-myre, gátbucca, heort-buc, olfend-myre* (Jordan p. 113), Compounds with interchangeable elements are sometimes met with in Old English poetry, a phenomenon observed already by GRIMM, and attributed by him to a particular cause. He observes: (II: 547): «eine fähigkeit der älteren sprache, die mit der natur der alliteration zusammenhängt, wie überhaupt keine alliteration ohne die mannigfaltigkeit und behendigkeit des compositionsvermögens einer Sprache würde geübt werden können». Examples are *béot-word: word-béot, wine-mæg : mæg-wine, bealu-cwealm : cwealm-bealu.* That *holt-wudu,* which is a tautological cp, occurs also under the form of *wudu-holt* is natural. — Other OE instances are *fúgel-doppe : dop-fúgel; gange-wifre, gangel-wæfre : wæfer-gange,* 'spider', *bisceop-ealdor : ealdor-bisceop* (BT suppl.).

Cases of real inversion of the members hardly exist in Old English. In a few isolated instances appearances may seem to be in favour of initial determination, but on closer inspection they nearly all of them allow of a natural interpretation. Thus, *bær-disc* 'tray' is interpreted by BT as containing the subst. *bǽr* 'bier', in which case it would be an initial determinative, but SWEET's surmise that the first member is identical with the stem of the verb *beran* seems far more likely. Tautological is *titt-strycel* 'nipple of breast' (Sw.), *strycel* meaning also 'teat'. So is *daroþ-æsc* unless *æsc* has its original sense, in which case the compound would mean 'an ash, or a piece of ash-wood, made into a javelin'.

Pleonastic or tautological is, too, probably *tíd-dæg* 'lifetime': *dæg* = life, lifetime (Sw.). BT:s rendering of *éhte land*[1] as 'landed property' seems not to be quite accurate: in the passage quoted from BEDE's history:

> Forðon ðe Peohtas heora ǽhte land ðætte Angle ǽr hæfdon eft onfénġon = Lat. nam Picti terram possessionis suæ quam tenuerunt Angli receperunt

it must signify 'the land or territory of their possession'. Hence its character of a compound word — SWEET prints it as a cp — is also most doubtful. Further, BT is too uncritical in identifying the second element of the gloss word *earn-ġéat* with *ġát* 'goat' and in rendering the whole 'the goat-eagle, vulture', because, firstly, the second element is obscure, being also recorded in the form *ġéap,* secondly the signification of the compound appears not to be quite clear.

The only cases included in my material in which the character of initial determinatives seems to be incontestable are two cpp with *-líf*: *endelíf* 'death' and

[1] This case does not belong under 'strong' cpp, but is entered here for convenience sake, as are also one or two more in the sequel.

cyre-líf 'choice of (way of) life' (Sw.). The records are, for the former Elene 585:

> — — — þá wurden híe déaþes on wénan,
> ádes ond endelífes — — —;

for the latter KEMBLE, Cod. Dipl. (see BT):

> Ic bidde — — — ðæt mínra maga nán ne yrfewearda ne geswence nán nǽnig cyrelif ðara ðe ic foregeald — — —

It will be hard to find a satisfactory explanation of these puzzling isolated exceptions to the universal rule for the formation of compounds in Old English.

In Middle English a novel type of initial determinatives arises with group-compounds *(man-of-war),* but they are left out in this connection. (It may be observed in passing that another type, which was in MnE to gain great currency, viz. verbal compounds, also dates from this period, e. g. *bere-bag, cutte-pors, lykpot*). In strong compounds in ME final determinatives are also practically the only kind admitted by the language. But the few exceptions that occur are in no way surprising, as they all of them are owing to Romance influence. *Middle English.*

As to appositional cpp, the kind of cpp with animal names above referred to, show the same order between the elements as in OE. Exceptions are rare (*gotbukke, gootdoo* WW $570_{,22}$). That in appositional cpp the elements may be interchangeable also in ME, is plain from the instance *beggers frerys* (c 1460 Town. Myst.): *frere beggers* (1480 CAXTON).

The ME cases of initial determination that I have noted are:

Court-baron first occurs in Anglo-French, the oldest form being *court de baron;* the one without *de* is, of course, in accordance with the usage prevalent in Old

French. The word is explained as 'the assembly of the freehold tenants of a manor under the presidency of the lord or his steward'. This assembly had of old a national name *healgemót* (NED art. court-baron ex. 1591), which was ousted by the Romance term. — The regular order between the elements is presented by *baron-court*, but this cp is of much later origin (18th c.) and means 'the court of justice held by a baron in his barony', — Cf *covert-baron* adapted AF *couverte baroun*, orig, *coverte de barun*.

Coat-armour when first appearing in the 14th c. was an initial determinative, having the literal sense of 'tunic'. The Romance prototype of the word is somewhat uncertain. NED gives no etymology; STRATMANN-BRADLEY derives it from an OF *cote à armure*, of which I have, however, found no record. MÄTZNER gives as etymon OF *cote a armer*. This expression is not found in GODEFROY, but LITTRÉ has one instance (art. *cotte*): Et chascun deit aveir cote à armer et gambisson se il viaut ('Ass. de J'). Although the sense presents some difficulty I hold that armer is here the verb, because the sb armeure cannot have this form. If this OF expression is the etymon of the cp in question, its English form might be accounted for in such a way that on the word's being introduced the preposition got assimilated with the following initial *a*, 'armer' getting at the same time associated with armure, which had already become definitely received into the language.

Lagh canoun (Cursor M.), later *canon law*, is, of course, modelled on the French pattern (cf *droit canon*).

Note 1. The cp *mansbond* is interpreted by NED as 'bondsman, serf', but in the instance recorded the word need not mean that (ROBBERD OF BRUNNE, Now er þise bot mansbond, rascaile [= 'refuse, worthless people' SB] of refous.) The second member may be assumed to be OE *bonda* 'peasant, churl', which in

ME was frequently employed as a «designation of rank or condition below burgess (and then also put collectively or as adj.)», the cp being in that case a final determinative with the sense of 'human refuse'.

Note 2. The side form *wyne tyre* to *tyre wyne* (PALSGRAVE: 'Tyer, drinke: amer bruuiage') contained in the Promptorium Parvulorum can hardly be a compound. In my opinion it is a syntactical group where the semological relation between the elements is the status generis.

Modern English.

In Modern English the number of exceptions is somewhat greater, but they are still of a striking character, foreign to the genius of the language. In some of the MnE cases, too, French influence is unmistakeable, but in others the order of the elements is just as puzzling as in the OE instances.

Of appositional compounds with members interchangeable I have noted the following:

bell-glass : *glass-bell* ('a bell-shaped glass vessel, used chiefly for the protection of plants');

bug-bear : *bear-bug;*

comb-card : *carding-comb;*

cylinder-axis : *axis-cylinder* (1855 Spencer, The central fibre, or axis-cylinder of a nerve-tube);

hook-bill : *bill-hook* (*bill,* 'an instrument used for pruning);

jaw-foot : *foot-jaw* ('one of the anterior limbs of crustacea... which are modified so as to assist in mastication');

lady-cow : *cow-lady;*

pike-hammer : *hammer-pike;*

twin-brother : *brother-twin;*

spring-head : *head-spring.*

Here should also be entered *screw-jack* with its side-form *jack-screw,* and in this connexion attention is

called to the expression 'every man Jack', also running 'every Jack man'.

Several instances are offered by compound personal appellations, in which one member denotes the sex or age of the other:

man-servant : *servant-man;*
maid-servant : *servant-maid;*
boy-scout : *scout-boy;*
bachelor girl : *girl bachelor* (cf TW 380/1 *girl-bachel-ordem*).

(Fixed order, too, sometimes occurs in this group: *boy lover, girl friend, lady doctor, woman singer*).

Other personal appellations with interchangeable elements are rare: *Queen-Mother* is nowadays the only form current but SHAKESPEARE had *Mother-Queen. Empress Dowager* varies with *Dowager Empress,* (Stand. 23 June 1910, $^{9}/_{3}$), but *Dowager* seems in most cases to stand last in cpp: *Queen Dowager, Duchess Dowager.* Fixed order have, for instance, *master shoemaker, journeyman shoemaker* (cf G. *Schuhmachermeister, -gesell*), *foreman baker* (Sc. 7 March).

Appositional cpp with animal names denoting the sex or age of the animal have fixed order, the element denoting sex etc. being as a rule put first: *bitch-fox, bull-elk, buck-goat, doe-rabbit, dog-fox, jack-ass,* etc. Exceptions are e. g. *peacock, roebuck, turkey-ken; boar-pig* 'a young boar' (Shakesp.).

Note. In compounds where the relation between the members is the status similativus, the order is sometimes interchangeable, too. When inverted, the members stand in the relation of status definitivus to each other. Thus, in *wrack-grass,* side-form to *grass-wrack,* and *houseleek tree,* for *tree houseleek, grass* and *tree* are to be conceived in a wide sense.

Of MnE initial determinative cpp I have noted the following:

A. Cases without final determinative side-forms.

Coat-arms, otherwise *coat of arms.* The reduction may be due to analogy with *coat-armour.*

Fee Morton, fee Gloucester: 1602 CAREW, Cornwall, Fee Morton ... so called of John Earle first of Morton. *Ibidem.* They pay in most places onely fee-Morton releefes which is after fiue markes the whole Knights fee ... whereas that of fee Gloucester is fiue pound. — The order of the elements is very likely due to French influence.

Gum enters as first element into a number of initial determinatives: *gum acacia, g. ammoniac, g. dragon, g. guaiacum, g. ivy, g. juniper, g. sandarach, g. Senegal, g. tragacanth.* All of these are of modern formation except *gum-ivy* which is recorded from the 16th c. (1576 BAKER, *gumme yvie*). It should be observed that in the majority of the examples we are concerned with names of products in technical use. In this kind of cpp *gum* is rarely put last, e. g. *Chagual gum* (Encycl. Brit.). In ordinary compounds *gum* generally appears as the last element: *cherrytree gum* (Enc. Brit.), *ivy-gum* (used by SWEET to render OE *ifigtearo*); cf also *juniper-resin,* another name for *gum juniper,* and *spruce-resin.* — As to the explanation of this strange order between the elements, *gum* may in some of the cases be conceived as a mere epithet, e. g. *g. sandarach* and *g. tragacanth,* but this will not do in the others. It may be conjectured that the order has been influenced by the adjectival groups *gum elastic* and, above all, *gum arabic,* the oldest (c. 1400) and most current combination with *gum,* in which, in accordance with French usage, the adjunct is put after its head-word.

Hall-house (obs. exc. local) 'the principal living-room in a farm-house'. NED gives two examples from the 16th c.: *Durham Depos.* 'The testament was made in his haull-house, upon a holloday'. *ibid.* 'The said Thomas was soore sike, lying in his hall house'. If the cp can really have this sense — which is not warranted by the examples recorded — it may be explained as having developed out of the earlier sensc, now obsolete: 'a house or edifice that is a hall', being thus an instance of the common kind of sense-development which consists in specialization of meaning. And, indeed, the development comes very natural: as a hall-house contained no more rooms than the hall, the appellation must have been very liable to be associated with the hall instead of with the entire house. This done, the next step was not far, viz. to transfer the appellation to the hall in a house with more rooms than one.

The numerous combinations with *herb* (*herb-grace, -john, -twopence,* etc. see NED) are, in part, of a rather dubious character, in so far as it is open to discussion whether some of them are real compounds. Take, for instance, *herbe fyuveleafe, herb Git* (1562 Turner) and *herb patience* (1886 G. NICHOLSON: Patience or Herb Patience), which occur also without 'herb'. Here *herb* must be apprehended as an epithet standing in the relation of status generis to the word following; so it must, I take it, in *herb aloe* (1551 TURNER: the nature of the herb aloe is to hele woundes). *Herb-grace,* if, as is supposed, «arisen like the synonym *Herb of Repentance,* out of the formal coincidence of the name *Rue* with *Rue* v. and sb. 'repent, repentance'», was, then, originally no cp, but merely an epithetic combination, which, after it had become changed by popular etymology, approached the character of a compound. — There is, however, no doubt about the compound character of a great many of these combinations. Their origin is to be sought in

the ME usage of forming genitives of personal appelations by putting them, on the French pattern, without endings behind their head-words. Thus, *herb-john,* which has been recorded as early as the 13th century, is a translation of med. L. *herba Johannis,* and *herb-robert* of *herba Roberti.* On the analogy of these, there were formed new cpp, such as *herb St. Barbara, h. carpenter, h. Gerard, h. Peter, h. Margaret, h. Sophia,* etc. The tendency to put *herb* first gradually became so strong that there arose cpp also with non-personal appelations, e. g. *h. willow, h. paralysy, h. twopence, h. trinity.* This, too, must have been the reason why such a cp as *herb-grace* could be formed. — Popular etymology has been at work in other cases, too: e. g. *herb Bennet,* ME *herbe beneit* «prob. a OF *herbe beneite*» < L. *herba benedicta. Herb Louisa* was very likely suggested by the likeness of sound in the Latin name of the plant *Aloysia* (Citriodora).

I have further annotated three initial determinative cpp with *master: Master Household* (Scotch) 'contraction of Master of the (King's) Household': 1548 Ellis, Orig. Lett. The Mr housholde to the Quene; a 1578 Lindesay, Maister houshald wiht mony wther offeceris. *Master-hunt* 'master of the hunt': Chaucer (Paul's Grundr. 1091). The mayster hunte, anoon, foote hote, With a grete horne blewe thre mote; 1656 Earl Monm., Zenofon, Apollos Master-hunt. *Master-voyage* 'the commander of a fishing-fleet', 1761 Ann. Reg., Every boat-master, splitter, and master-voyage, who are the chief people among the fishermen and shoremen, being the catchers and curers of fish'. — Of these instances *master-hunt* is the only one for which a plausible explanation suggests itself. The second element may be identical with OE *hunta,* which has been recorded, exceptionally, as late as the 19th c. For all that, however, the cp may, in the 17th c. example, have been associated with MnE *hunt,*

as is suggested by NED. In the Chaucer instance, again, there is every probability that the second element was still felt as *hunt* 'hunter'; cf the Shakespearian cp *mouse-hunt* 'evidently a petticoat-hunter' (SCHMIDT). Concerning the remaining two I am at a loss to account for them. It is, indeed, singular that only *Master household* should have been used in a contracted form, and none of the numerous similar titles, such as *Master of the Jewel-house, of the Mint, Music, Posts, Robes,* etc. Another explanation is needed.

Mother-pearl (a 1510 *moder perl,* 1590 Spenser, *mother perle;* still alive in the 18th c.) may have been coined on the French pattern *mère-perle,* recorded by GODEFROY from the 16th c. Two analogous cases of more recent date are *mother-clove* and *mother-coal.*

Palm-Christ: 1611 Bible, *palmecrist,* 1860 Pusey, *palmchrist* < L. *palma Christi.* Cf *herb-john.* Such forms as these should, perhaps, be considered from the point of view of the great facility of the English language for incorporating foreign speech-material without taking the trouble of re-forming it in accordance with vernacular speech-customs. Cf *saltpetre, sugar candy.*

Pitfall (14th c. *pyt-falle*) contains as 2nd elem. OE *fealle* G. *Falle;* in modern use it is generally taken as «a pit into which one may fall».

Powder-post 'the powder of a worm-eaten post; also used as the type of a neutral and worthless medicine': 1845 S. Judd, The grubs of the law have gnawed into us and we are all powderpost'. Similarly: *Powder Holland* (1534 Nottingham Rec.).

Here may also be considered to belong the Early MnE and late ME forms *fader law* (1467 Mann. & Househ. Exp.), *doughter(e)lawe, mother(e)lawe* (1526 Tindale, The doughterelawe ageynst her motherelawe; 1567 Turberville, doughter-lawe; 1637 in Bury Wills, My mother lawes children). To judge from the 15th century form

brother elawe, (1483, Cath. Angl.) and from the Tindale examples, *in* must, exceptionally, have been pronounced in a slurred manner, and by and by have dropped out altogether, but the phenomenon remains singular all the same. If the prepositional link was to be dispensed with, *law* would — of course — have been expected to come first, and this order of the elements is, in fact, instanced once by NED from Shakespeare's Richard III: *law's father.* The only natural explanation would be that, the preposition having gradually worn off through slurred pronunciation, the remaining constituents of the compounds continued in the same order through lack of reflexion on the part of those using the forms.

If this explanation holds good it may do so also with regard to two of the above cases: *gum-ivy* and *powder-post.* These forms appear to have been preceded by *gum of ivy* and *powder of post,* which are now obsolete. The records are: c 1550 Lloyd, *gum of Iuy.* 1653 Walton, *Gum of Ivie;* 1769 Wesley, Beware of swallowing ounce after ounce of indigestible powder, though it were *powder of post;* 1808 Bentham, One of the *powder of posts* which the Pharmacopæia is full of. — Weakened pronunciation of the preposition is not recorded, but it may very well be supposed to have existed, as in *mother-a-pearl* (1632 Rowley).

Mother-of-pearl and *mother-pearl* appear about contemporaneously; so do *mother-of-clove* and *mother-of-coal,* and the corresponding forms without 'of', as well as *herb-of-grace* and *herb-grace.*

B. Cases with final determinative side-forms.

Apple-john ~ john-apple («so called because it is ripe about S. John's Day»): 1597 SHAKS. A Dish of Apple-Johns; 1623 Marbe; c 1811 W. Irving. Cf *herb-john.*

Brandy-cherry ~ cherry-brandy: a 1687 Cotton, Whether 't was that she .. Fainted for want of brandy-cherry.

The word has also the normal final determinative sense of 'cherries preserved in brandy'.

Laurel-cherry ~ cherry-laurel: 1787 *Fam. Plants;* 1822—34 *Good's Study Med.* (Laurel-cherry water), Cf the Latin name Cerasus *Lauro-cerasus.*

Leaf-gold and *gold-leaf* hold an exceptional position in so far as they both of them occur in initial as well as final determinative senses, *leaf-gold* being, however, rare in the former sense (19th c.). *Gold-leaf* from 18th c. The senses are: 1. 'a minute quantity of gold, beaten out into an extremely thin sheet' 2. 'gold in this form used in gilding'. The reason is, perhaps. that the notion of *leaf-gold* as a material name is necessarily bound up with its physical form. Cf OE *gold-fæt* 'a thin plate of gold', *fæt-gold* 'gold drawn out into thin plates'.

Lion-ant ~ ant-lion: 1774 Goldsm. Nat. Hist. Of the Formica Leo, or Lion-Ant; 1845 Darwin, Voy. Nat. This Australian pit-fall was only about half the size of that made by the European lion-ant. *Ant-lion* is later (19th c.). To judge from the Latin name contained in the 18th c. quotation, the larva in question was apparently once believed to be a kind of ant, which accounts in a natural way for the form *lion-ant.*

†Oak-holm ~ holm-oak: 1601 Holland, Oke-holm.

†Petre-salt ~ saltpetre: 1728 Woodward, Nitre while ... in its native state, is called Petre-salt; when refined, Salt-Petre. *Saltpetre* is only etymologically an initial determinative cp (L. *sal petræ*); in English it has always been obscured. But exactly for this reason it is strange that *petre-salt* should have been able to arise. As the first element cannot possibly have its etymological sense, the only explanation seems to be that *petre,* which had been used from the 16th c. as a short form for *saltpetre,* had *salt* suffixed to it as an explanatory addition. An entirely similar example is afforded by

Sugar-candy ~ candy-sugar. Simplex *candy,* shortened from *sugar-candy* («a. F. *sucre candi* . . more fully *sugar-candy*»), had its genus proximum 'sugar' added to it in the ordinary manner.

Note 1. *Tree-primrose* is given by NED as a cp = *primrose-tree,* but to judge from the instance: 1629 Parkinson, 'the tree Primrose of Virginia', the first element had, at least at first, only the character of an epithet, analogous to *herb patience,* etc. referred to above.

Note 2. The side-form *puzzle-monkey* for the tree-name *monkey-puzzle* is, of course, a verbal cp, as is also †*black-shoe* for *shoe-black.*

Note 3. The obscured cp *gossamer* (prob. < *goose-summer*) has a dial. side-form *summer-goose,* which cannot, however, on account of its queer sense, be termed either an initial or a final determinative.

3. *Frequency.*

Old English.

The frequency of strong singular compounds was remarkably great in OE: practically it may even be said that the faculty of OE for coining such compounds was unlimited. True there are a great many OE substantives unrecorded in compounds, but this does not mean, of course, that they were incapable of entering into cpp, although it is impossible for us to decide in how far accidental circumstances have been at work. Nor can we be sure to what extent variation with weak cpp and syntactical constructions is to be ascribed to euphony, stylistic variation, ot other accidental reasons.

The readiness with which the OE word-material lent itself to compounding purposes is illustrated by the fact that three-linked compounds are not infrequently met with. Examples are: *burg-geat-setl, burh-waru-man, dēofol-*

gyld-hús, eafor-heafod-segn, feld-gang-penig, gærs-tún-díc, éa-stréam-ýþ, helle-wíte-bróga, hors-gærs-tún, niht-buttor-fléoge, swéor-racenttéag, wulf-héafod-tréo.

As members of compounds are found not only appellatives but also geographical names, e. g. *Lunden-burh, Róm-feoh, Róm-wealh, Sæfern-múþa, Snotingahám-scír, Sodom-ware.*

Middle English. In Middle English it is a ticklish task to give an opinion as to frequency, owing to the difficulty of identifying strong compounds from weak, to which return is made in Ch. 3. But this much can at any rate be stated with certainty, that frequency had considerably diminished in ME, as compared with OE. The cause of this change in the physiognomy of the language is to be put down to French influence, which accounts for so many points otherwise obscure in ME. Prof. Earle touches upon the subject in 'English Prose', where he says, p. 40: «There is perhaps no greater evidence of the profound influence of the Romanic element upon English than that it led us off to phraseology in lieu of making compounds which was our natural heritage.» This influence is naturally more or less strong in different writers. In Maundeville, for instance, I have observed it to be particularly strong, as was, in fact, to be expected in a text translated from French.

Three-linked cpp occur sparingly, e. g. *heved-lorþeau, hed-masse-penni, brend-fier-rein* (SB); *hawe-þorn-leves* (Chaucer, ed. Skeat A 1508). So do cpp with geographical names, e. g. 1320 Durham Acc. Rolls, *yslandfyss.*

In ME we also meet cpp with personal names, such as *Petermas* (c 1060), *Peterpenny* (c 1380). The type occurring most is that of compound names whose second element is a word denoting kinship. I quote some instances from the plentiful collection contained in SUNDÉN, On the Origin of the Hypochoristic Suffix

-y (-ie, -ey) in English:[1] Matilda *Custedoghter,* Agnes *Randewyf,* Johanna *Wattemayden,* Magota *Collewyf,* Johannes *Dauyman* (i. e. the servant of Davy), Agnes *Henriwyf,* Elionora *Symdoghter,* Johanna *Watwyf,* Thomas *Cademan.* — Cf also Rob. of Brunne 236, Zup.-Schipp., op. cit, p. 147: þe *Mortimere sonne* Zing. The position of the article leads us to suspect compounding.

Modern English.

In Modern English the faculty of compounding has recovered much of the ground lost in Middle English. Already at the commencement of the MnE period the progress of restitution had advanced a good way. Cf GREENOUGH and KITTREDGE, Words and their Ways in English Speech, London 1907 «The Elizabethans were very venturesome in the matter of compounds». Witness to the same effect is borne also by contemporaries. Thus we read in BEN JONSON's English Grammar[2] «The Notation of a Word is when the original thereof is sought out, and consisteth in two things, the kind and the figure .... the figure is to know whether the word be simple or compounded, as ... In which kind of composition our English tongue is above all other very hardy and happy, joining together after a most eloquent manner, sundry words of every kind of speech». And the following passage from SHAKESPEARE's seventy-sixth sonnet can also, it seems to me, be interpreted as a statement of the same import:

Why is my verse so barren of new pride,
So far from variation or quick change?
Why with the time do I not glance aside
To new-found methods and to compounds strange?

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[1] In «Sertum Philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum», Göteborg 1910.

[2] Works VII: 243, ed. Whalley, London MDCCLVI.

In Present English strong compounding is steadily gaining ground — which is hailed by Prof. EARLE as a «movement of considerable importance», p. 40, op. cit. —, though it still falls far short of the freedom characteristic of Old English.

It is sometimes asserted that this movement will be due to direct influence from German.[1] As a general statement this is an exaggeration, for the only province in which German influence may with some certainty be assumed is in that of scientific literature. Here compounds before unknown have latterly been coined, e. g. *form-word, form-history, group-compound,* and it is very likely that German example has encouraged their formation, in consideration of the prominent position occupied by that language as a vehicle of science. Otherwise, I understand, German influence can but be spoken of in isolated writers, and foremost, of course, in CARLYLE. His neologisms have, however, so far from enriched the thesaurus of words of the English language that they are generally pointed out as *non imitandum.* I quote an opinion from a competent critic, THACKERAY, who on the appearance of the 'French Revolution' made the following criticism of his style in a newspaper review: «It is stiff, short, and rugged, it abounds with Germanisms and Latinisms, strange epithets, and choking double words,[2] astonishing to the admirers of simple Addisonian English, to those who love history as it gracefully runs in Hume, or struts pompously in Gibbon — no such style is Mr. Carlyle's».[3]

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[1] Cf EARLE op. cit. p. 40 «On the other hand there is no stronger proof of the deep influence of German literature in this country, than the fact that it has roused us to the effort of recovering this important factor in our literary diction».

[2] spaced by me.

[3] quoted after SCHMEDING, Über Wortbildung bei Carlyle, Halle 1900, p. 13.

There are, however, neologisms in the field of composition which need not by any means be put down to German influence. I am alluding to the numerous unusual cpp met with, for instance, in the works of Kipling (e. g. *creed-suspicion, dust-bath, jungle-step, monkey-dead* [looking at the ~ on the terrace], *night-thief*, LEEB-LUNDBERG, p. 52—53). Why should not these be explained as independent coinings? A writer of such vivid imagination, who cares so little for what is accepted and time-honoured in the modes of speech, as soon as he wants a novel and appropriate word-combination, coins it if it does not exist before. The same applies, of course, and in a still higher degree, to the great poets. Cf for instance SWINBURNE's *cradle-ray, dew-flake, guerdon-gift, pebble-gift, snowshine, song-wreath, tongue-worship* (recorded by SERNER, On the Language of Swinburne's Lyrics and Epics, Lund 1910, p. 76 foll.) and TENNYSON's *apple-arbiter, flame-billow, fool-people, lip-depths, river-rain, thunder-sketch* (DYBOSKI in Baust. p. 200 foll.).

If we were to judge the power of composition of MnE exclusively by the standard prevailing in poetry and in the works of a few authors who indulge in the coining of new words, we might well say that it is unlimited, but if we examine the language of common prose and colloquial English we find that it is subjected to material restrictions (with the above-mentioned exception for the language of science). These restrictions cannot be accounted for, much less defined; they can merely be proved to exist to a considerable extent.

I have only managed to find one, but a well-defined, category which is apparently *not* subjected to restriction, and that embraces such cpp whose first element consists of a name. Especially it seems to be the rule that cpp with personal names can be formed at will. I find on one newspaper page: the *McCann Marriage*, the

Hope Diamond, the *Hamilton Falls,* the *St. Katharine Dock,* the *Albert Dock.*

As to geographical names the same is true of all such as lack a corresponding adjective (*Newcastle coal,* the *Manchester Guardian,* etc. see WENDT p. 16), but in cases where such exist, too, the names themselves are in extensive use. I give examples: *Brazil* nut, *Canada* tea, *Iceland* lichen, *India* paper, *Japan* ink, the *Japan* Society, the *Netherlands* Minister, *Norway* haddock, *Portugal* onion, *Russia* leather, *Scotland* Yard, *Turkey* carpet, *Virginia* potatoes. As will be noted, the usage — as far as country-names are concerned — of compounding with the name in lieu of employing the corresponding adjective occurs particularly often in names of articles imported from, or peculiar to, the country in question.

The restriction above referred to naturally shows itself most in translation from languages where compounds can be formed more freely. Thus, in translating from Swedish other modes of expression must be resorted to to a considerable extent. A convenient way is to use adjectives in cases when that it possible, e. g. *atomic* theory, *Cæsarian* section, *heavenly* bodies, *mental* arithmetic, *meteoric* iron, *migratory* bird, the *silky* pigeon, *solar* system.

The commonest way, however, is to paraphrase with a preposition, in general 'of' (see Ch. 3).

Not infrequently it is necessary to make a complete periphrasis. I choose an instance at random: *åldersstatistik,* which is equivalent to 'statistics dealing with people's ages' or something like that, depending on context.

If, then, Modern English is in certain respects subjected to restrictions in the matter of composition, it should be noted that in others it shows possibilities in which it is by no means second to German. I am

alluding to the remarkable faculty of MnE for coining many-linked compounds.

The bulk of many-linked compounds are made up of group-compounds, but the frequency of strong many-linked cpp, too, is very great, except in the category of primary cpp.

1. Primary[1] cp:

priest-bandit-chief (Kipling, Leeb-Lundberg, op. cit. p. 53).

2. Secondary cpp:

a) first element two-linked:

butterfly-fish, the *Church Estates Commission, fish-liver oil, flint-glass manufacture, horse-shoe magnet, mid-summer night, open-work stockings, even-stress compounds* etc. etc.

b) second element two-linked:

glass store front, the *Eddystone lighthouse, Labour Party Chairman, Post Office Savings Bank,* The *Alsace-Lorraine constitution-bill, one-day railway strike* (TW 1911 105/2), etc.

3. Tertiary cpp:

Gunpowder-treason day, the Lands Valuation Appeal Court.

4. Quaternary etc. cpp:

A two-stone diamond 14-carat gold cross ring (TW 1911 105/1) *Corrupt Practices Prevention Act Amendment Bill* (SCHMIDT, Gram. der engl. Spr. p. 241),

Such many-linked cpp are by no means exceptional, but it should be observed that, while in German they necessarily appear heavy and lumbering owing to the principal stress being thrown on to the first element, the

[1] Vårt Språk VII 32.

stress in MnE is thrown forward (cf SWEET § 932), the several elements retaining a marked subordinate stress; for this reason English many-linked cpp are less often liable to become «tongue-twisters».

Three-linked cpp occur in all periods of MnE but more than three-linked appear to be of late origin. e. g. 17th c. *club-headpiece, Gilloflower grasse;* 16th c. *Feather-top grasse, federbed makers, foote ball sport, footmen archers.*

It is sometimes contended that English, as well as Teutonic languages in general, is opposed to cpp with three or more links, see e. g. SUNDÉN, Contributions to the Study of Elliptical Words in MnE, Upsala 1904, p. 57, who supports his assertion by referring to the common occurrence that a compound is made up of two elements though the meaning requires three. I am, however, of opinion that the reason for this abbreviation is of quite a different kind, viz. convenience: the denomination of which the one element is an abbreviation is so current that merely an intimation is needed for everybody to perceive the meaning. The theory about aversion for three-linked cpp seems to me to be out of place, firstly because it is evident from the examples given above that such is not the case, secondly because for similar reasons it might just as well be concluded that English has aversion for two-linked compounds, cf *straw* for *straw-hat, packet* for *packet-boat, lock* for *lock-keeper, boulder* for *boulder-stone* etc.

I subjoin some instances of abbreviated cpp.[1] MnE *pine-strawberry* for *pine-apple strawberry; coach-clerk,* 'a clerk at a coach-office'; *fire-office* for *fire-insurance office;*

[1] OE cases are: *bel-flȳs,* the bell-wether's fleece; *god-gierela* for *god-webb-gierela; Sunnan-æfen, -úhta;* similarly *Monan-æfen; Tíwes-niht; Wódnes-, Friges-æfen; Þunres-niht; frí-niht* is supposed by Sweet to mean 'night before Friday'.

Botany wool f. *Botany Bay wool; flag-pay,* 'the pay of a flag-officer or admiral'; *dog-days* 'the days when Sirius or the Dog-star (whence the term) rises and sets with the sun' (ANNANDALE); *drawn-work* f. *drawn-thread work; drift-boat,* 'a boat for fishing with a drift-net'; *Whitsuntide;* 1813 Sporting Mag., The *Palmsun Horse Show; man-mercer,* 'one who deals in man's wear'; 1794 Rigging & Seamanship, *drum-line* = *drum-fish line;* Sh. *nose-herb,* 'herb fit for a nosegay'; 1571 Satir. Poems Reform, *Palmson-euin;* 1561 Diurnal of Occurr., *craftis-childer,* 'a craftsman's apprentices'.

B.

Plural Compounds.

By a plural compound I mean such a compound as has a substantive in plural, or — to adopt Sweet's terminology (N. E. Gr. § 1000) — a plural common, for its first member. Since it is only in our days that this type of strong compound has attained a somewhet higher position in English than that of a mere exceptional category, it is appropriate to publish in full the material relating to the earlier periods. In so doing I distinguish between pluralia tantum and ordinary plurals for reasons which will be clear below.

It is often attended with considerable difficulty to settle in MnE whether an s-form is to be regarded as a plur. common or as a genitive (sing. or plur.), by reason of the coincidence in pronunciation. In those cases when the sole criterion existing, the sense, leaves us in the lurch, through its allowing of the form to be construed either way, no certain assumptions can be made; yet, it is not infrequently possible, by means of analogical inference, to form an opinion which is very likely to be true. Thus, we may take it for granted that *the Aliens Act* is a plural cp, because there are so many other incontestable plurals compounded with *act*. Combinations such as *The United States Navy* and *the boy scouts movement* may at first be apprehended as genitival, but when compared with *Waifs and Strays*

Society, Ways and Means Committee, Standard Novels Edition, etc., they may just as well be conceived as plural compounds.

The ambiguity often attending combinations of this category is reflected in the unsettled mode of writing them: the apostrophe is in many instances put in or left out according as the linguistic instinct of the writer — or of the proof-reader — prompts him to do. So for instance I have noticed *breeches pockets* to be written with and without the apostrophe within the space of a few lines in a novel by Q. (TW 484/2). Cpp with *eaves* are usually written without the apostrophe, but occasional exceptions occur, e. g. 1875 Gwilt: *eaves' board, catch, lath.* The same applies to cpp with *trades* (Sc. 22 March, *Trades' Union Congress*). Compare further: *The Shops Regulation Act* (Sc. 13 July 12/1) and *The Towns' Improvement Act* of 1854 (Encycl. Britt.). Another circumstance to reckon with in accounting for this vacillation is, no doubt, the comparative rarity of plural cpp, which may be supposed to cause writers willy-nilly to put in genitival sense even when the signification opposes difficulties.

In ME and Early MnE there are also other endings than *-(e)s* that may be ambiguous. *Childre, childer, children,* for instance, are plur. common as well as plur. gen. Again, I see plur. gen. in *childre parts, childer game, children playes* (NED), as also in *eirmonger* (SB), whilst *childerhed, children-(childer)less* are obvious plural compounds.

Old English.

In Old English plural compounds were as yet practically unknown. The two isolated instances I have discovered are both compounded with pluralia tantum. They are *bréc-hrægl* — most probably a plurale tantum since no reference is found in the dictionaries to support sing. *bróc* — and *Dene-mearc.*

OE possessed very few pluralia tantum and of those to be found the majority were names of peoples, which all of them, except *Dene*, dropped their inflections when first members of compounds, e. g. *Brettas: Brett-walas; Francan: Franc-land; Iras: Ir(a)-land; Seaxe: Seax-land; Scottas: Scot-land; Swéon: Swéo-þéod.* Of other pluralia tantum I have but noted three: *eastron* (chiefly plural), *lendenu* and *reliquias*, with the cpp *éastor-dæg, lenden-wærc* and *relic-gang*.

Middle English. In the ME period the number of records is somewhat greater, but here, too, the phenomenon is of such extreme rarity that the cases must be looked upon as mere curiosities.

Instances with pluralia tantum are: *aysshes clothes* (1461—83 Ord. R. Househ.); *dysplayere* (1377 Langl.), *Dyce-play* (c 1440 Promp. Parv.); *matyns messe* (1303 R. Brunne), *matyns-tyme* (1484 Caxton). 'The *guds eschete*' (W. Meyer, Flexionslehre der ältesten schottischen Urkunden 1385—1440. Halle 1907, p. 28) is doubtful; it is, perhaps, preferable to regard it as a gen. plur.

The first of these examples is exceptional, other cpp being, e. g. *aske-baðie, aske-fise* (SB). *Matins* had a parallel comp.-form *matin-*, e. g. *matyn tyde* (1315), but of *dys* no sing. form is recorded in composition.

Compounds with ordinary plurals:

a. the relation between the members is appositional. Cases rare:

1382 Wyclif, Joel: *Men-fiȝters;* Esther, *childer wymmen.*

c 1460 Towneley Myst.: *beggers frerys;* cf 1480 Caxton: *frere beggers.*

1475 Bk. Noblesse: *knightis banerettis.*

b. Other cases:

First half of 13th c., Bestiary (Mzn Wb): *fetsteppe.*

1298 R. Glouc. MS B: *menquellares* (the other MS *manquellars*).

Before 1300 Havelok 235 (MS «certainly not later than the end of the thirteenth century», Skeat § 26 Pref. to his EETS edition): *handes-wringing:*

> þer was sobbing, siking, and sor
> Handes-wringing, and drawing bi hor.

About 1300, Robert of Glouc. (SB): *fetfolk.*

a 1300 E. E. Psalter: *men-slaers.*

Later half of 14th c., English Gilds, EETS 40, p. 359: *shongable.*

1382 Wyclif, 1 Sam.: *feet folowers* (1 Kings, *foot folowers*); Jer.: *feet-gynnes.*

1386 Wyclif: *childerhed.*

1387 Trevisa: He schulde raþer chese hem a kyng ... of the *wommen kyn* raþer þan of the *men kyn.*

1393 Langl. P. Pl.: C. *pans-delynge,* B. *penyes delynge.*

End of 14th c. Gower (Mzn Wb): *chapmenhod.*

End of 14th c. A tretise of *miraclis pleyinge* (Mzn p. 224). This form is consistent in the treatise, but *myraclis pleyeris* (p. 228,21) is varied with *myracle pleyeris* (p. 230,6, 237,25).

1398 Trevisa:[1] *geys egges* (besides *goos eggys* in the same work.)

1399 Rich. Redeles: *pens lac.*

1422 Secreta Secret.: *men quelleris.*

[1] In the passage '[þey]dradde also that longe abidynge from home in werre... schulde make hem children-lese' NED apprehends *children-lese* as a cp, but Mätzner in his Altengl. Sprachproben, p. 347 foot-note, takes *lese* to be a verb, firstly, because the word-form *children-lese* «ungewöhnlich wäre», secondly, because it is made dubious by the Latin original — 'ne diuturnitate proelii spem prolis amitterent' —, on account of which he assumes *lese* to be a translation of *amittere.*

c 1440 Alphabet of Tales: *meracles-doyng.*
c 1449 Pecock, Repr.: *myraculis doing.*
c 1450 St: Cuthbert: *Menslaers.*
1481 Eng. Gilds: *brotheryndon, bretherynhod.*

Modern English. In Early Modern English the frequency of plural compounds was about the same as in Middle English, but the farther down we get, the more it increases, and in Present English the increase has gone so far that plural compounding is really a factor to be reckoned with.

1. *Compounds with pluralia tantum*

(including such as are plur. tant. in a specific sense only).

In order to illustrate perspicuously the morphological variation presented by pluralia tantum when first members of compounds, I have included in the survey also such cases as do not keep the plural form in composition.

The examples are, unless otherwise stated, from NED or CD.

a. Cases with singular, or both singular and plural, function.

The plural form is, as a rule, kept in composition.

alms: *alms*-bread, -deed, -giver. etc. (*alms* was not used as a plural till the 17th c.),

amends: *amends*making (1580 Hollyband).

bellows: *bellows*-mender (1590 Shaks.), -blast (1674 Petty Disc. bef. R.), -blower, -engine, -board, -fish, etc. Older cpp *bellow-* belonged to the obsolete sing. *bellow.*

fives: *fives*-ball, -bat, -player -court.

hustings: *hustings*-court (1675 Ogilby and 1898 E. W. James), -cry (1844 Coningsby), -orator (1837 Dis-

raëli), -movement, -topic. *Husting*-court, -day relate to the older sing. form *husting*.

gallows: *gallows*. The plural form has been the prevailing one from the 13th c. onwards, but the first plural cpp recorded by NED date from the 16th c. [*gallows*-rounded (1567 Drant) and ~ *clapper* (1583 Golding)], i. e. after the construction 'a gallows' had begun to be used. Modern examples are: *gallows*-bird, -rope, -tree. Occasional instances of the sing. form *gallow* as first member occur very late, such as the old cp *gallow-tree,* which did not become extinct until the 19th c.

light-skirts: 'a woman of light character', attrib. in form *ligt-skirt*: -starres (1602 Return fr. Parnass.), *-Dame* (1619 W. Sclater), *-wife* (1891 W. A. Clouston).

means: *means*-making (1617 Bacon), -maker (1640 Fuller), -using (1642 Rogers).

molasses: *molasses*-beer (1742 Lond. & Country Brew.), *melasses* spirits (1753 Chambers), *molasses*-cistern, -gate.

news: *newes*-teller (1586 Sidney), -bearer (1611 Cotgr.), *News*-carrier (1788 New London Mag.), -agent, -vendor, etc.

odds: *odds*-giver (1892 Daily News), -receiver (1900 Westm. Gaz.).

pains: *paynes* taking (1556 Olde, Antichrist), *pains*-taking, *pains*worthy (1861 Max Müller), *pains*-taker. *Pain*-taking (1556 Olde, Antichrist) and *pain*-worthy (1650 Fuller) are cpp with the obsolete *pain* = mod. *pains*.

Plural place-names remain unchanged in cpp: Our *Athens* correspondent (Times, 3 March 1910); *Brussels* lace; *Naples* yellow. *Lebanon Springs* Water 'a water — — obtained from Lebanon Springs, New-York' CD. Similarly *Hot Springs-*, *Richfield Springs* water. — *Flanders* flax, -lace, etc. *Ramillies,* however, which forms the cpp *Ramellies*-Cock (1740 A. Allen) and *ramilies*.

wig (1858 Carlyle), is recorded also without the *s: Ramilie* wig (1740 l. c.), *ramallie* wig (1767 Sterne).

b. Cases with plural function.

aloes: *aloes* tree (1790 Sheridan, Dict. of the Engl. Lang.); *aloes*-wood, recorded from the 19th c.; the last ex. 1866.

arles: *arlis*-penny (1590 Bruce), *airle*-penny (1794 Burns).

backstairs: *backstair* minister (1697 Vanbrugh.), *backstairs* influence (1770 Burke). Mod. cpp always *s:* -plots; -gossip (Acad.), -method (Times), -passage (Carlyle).

backwoods: his *backwood* predecessor (1822 J. Flint); *backwoods*-fashion, -man, -woman; *backwoods*-y (cf the U. S. form *woodsy,* CD).

billiards: *billiard*-ball, -room, -table, etc., recorded from the 17th c. onwards.

bodies (obsolete): *bodies*-maker (1672 R. Wild), *bodice*-seller (1684 Lond. Gaz.).

bowls: *bowl*-alley (1628 Earle).

braces: *braces* maker (1836 Dickens, A retired glove and braces maker); *brace*-button.

breeches: *breeches*-ball (1798 Jane Austen), -figure (1808 Hurstone), '*Breeches* Bible' (1835 Penny Cycl.); *breeches*-maker (Carlyle), -pockets (1783 Cowper and mod.), -part (1865 Dublin Univ. Mag.), -buoy (1880 Boy's Own Paper), *breeches*-less (1882 Blackw. Mag., 1837 Fraser's Mag.). *Breech*-belt (15th c.), -maker (16th c.) and -girdle (14—16th cc.) belong to ME sing. *breech* with its special senses.

ceramics: The *Ceramics* Court (TW 727/2).

clothes: *clothes*-brush (1724 Crouch), -moth (1753 Chambers), -press (1713 Mrs Centlivre, and mod.); a *plain-clothes* police officer (TW 745/2). *Clothe*-sack, instanced from 14—16th cc., either has the obsolete

sing, *cloth* (see NED cloth III) for its first member, or is due to elision of the final *s*.

customs: *customs*-barrier (TW 513/2), -duties, -law (Sc. 5 Apr.), -officer, receipts (TW 487/1), -relations (Sc. 19 Apr.), -statistics (1910 Stand. 24 June 6/1), -union (CD). Cpp with *custom-* all of them relate to *custom* excepting *custom-house,* which is connected both with *custom* and *customs*. Besides *custom*-house, *customs*-house is occasionally met with, e. g. Sc. 5 Apr.

Commons: *Commons* House (1641 Nicholas Papers and mod.) *Comyn* hous (1489 Caxton), *common* house (1587 Fleming) may have been compounded with *common,* now out of use, = MnE *commons* (see NED common sb. 2). — *Common* house 'privy' (1596 Harington) relates either to the obsolete *commons* of the same sense, or to the adj. *common*.

contents: 1910 Times 10 Feb., On Feb 2 another article appeared in the newspaper and the *contents bill* contained the words . . .

dice: *Dice* maker (1530 Palsgr.), *dice*-gospeller (1550 Latimer), boxe (1552 Huloet), -shot (1688 J. White), -board, -man, -top, etc. *Dice-* is chiefly used in reference to gaming.

dominoes: *domino*-box, -pool.

draughts: *draught*-board, -player, *draught(s)*man.

fireworks: *fireworks* display (1909 Stand. 31 July).

foins (obsolete): 'trimmings or garments made of the fur of foin, an animal of the polecat or weasel kind': *Foyns*-Batchellor (1681 T. Jordan) 'one of a company dressed in gowns trimmed with foins . . .'; *Foins* Gown (1672 Lond. Gaz.).

gasworks: *gaswork*-company (Schmidt, Gr. d. engl. Spr. § 198 anm.).

goods: *goods*-agent, -department, -shed, -train, etc.

greens 'vegetables': *green*-market, the oldest instance (1604 E. Grimstone); *green*-grocer. -shop, -stall,

-woman (18th c.) are all obsolete except the first. *Greenhouse* is compounded with *†green* 'a tree, herb, or plant' («mostly in plural»).

headquarters: *headquarter* camp, expenses; Army *Headquarters* Staff (MP 21 May 3/4).

hops: *hop*-growing -harvest, -plant, etc.

honours (academical term): *honour(s)* man; *Honours* Graduation Course (Acad. 1910, 550/1).

Horse Guards: *Horse Guards* parade, -arches (MP 21 May 7/7). Likewise: a *Scots Guards* Battalion (Sc. 13 July 12/2).

manners: *manners*-†painting. ppl. a. (1727—46 Thomson, 1786 Burns), *manner*-painter (1807 Coleridge, «nonce-word»). *Manners*-bit (1829 J. Hunter, 'a portion of a dish left by the guests that the host may not feel himself reproached for insufficient preparation').

matins: matyns tyme (1530 Palsgr.), *Mattens* mongers (1543 Bale), *Mattins* mumbling (1555 G. Marsh). Alongside with the plural cpp are used cpp with *matin*, e. g. *mattyn* tyme 1450—1530, *matin* bell 1709, -time 1820, -bells 1851. The latter form is the only one in use in MnE.

measles: the *Measles* Epidemic at Leith (Sc. 11 March).

ninepins: *ninepin* alley, yard, etc.

pickles: *pickle*-barrel, -bottle, -dealer, -jar, etc.

points: *points*-man, -woman.

salts 'colloq. pl. smelling-salts': *salts*-bottle.

scales: *scales*-man (Hall Caine, Prod. Son I 134, Tauchn.), *scale*-beam (SD).

savings: *savings*-bank.

scissors: *scissor*-bird, -tooth; -bill, -tail (the two latter also *scissors*- according to SD), *scissors*-grinder, *scissor*-grinder SD, *scissor*-smith (Engl. Gilds, EETS, p. CLXXV).

shears: *shear*-bill, tail; *shears*-moth.

skittles: *skittle*-alley.

snuffers: *snuffer*-tray; *snuffers*-tray (B. Shaw, The Man of Destiny, p. 203 in Plays II, Lond. 1907).

Sixties: TW 252/2 They are all good, because they have all caught the spirit of the play and the *Early Sixty tone* . . .

sessions: *sessions*-house (NED art. nubbing-ken), -Court (1910 Stand. 23 June 9/3), a *quarter-sessions* chairman.

spectacles: *spectacle*-glass, -maker; *spectacle*-mark (Kipl. Jungle Book, p. 160).

staggers, stavers: *stagger-*. *staver*-wort, *stagger*-bush, -grass.

statistics: the *Statistics* Monthly (Sc. 2 Feb. 12/3).

stays: *stay*-lace, -maker. «In comp. the singular is always used».

stocks (= *shares*): *stock*-broker, -exchange.

stocks ('to sit in the stocks'): *stock*-punished (Shakesp. Lear).

suds: *sud*-oil.

thanks: *thanks*-giving (Shakesp. and mod.), -giver; *thank*-offering 'an offering made in ancient Jewish rites as an expression of gratitude to God' is, perhaps, a verbal compound; cf, however, *thank*-worthy (with the by-form *thanksworthy*†), which, since it is recorded as early as in Sir P. Sidney, may contain the obsolete sing. *thank* = MnE *thanks*.

tongs: *tong(s)man*.

trousers: *Trouser*-pockets (Hall Caine, Prod. Son), *trousers*-pockets (TW 511/3).

tweezers: *tweezer*-case.

vespers: *vesper*-bell, -bird, etc.

withers: *wither*-wrung; -band (also in Shakesp.).

Arches (St. Mary of the ~): *Arches Court.*

Cevennes: *Cevennes* mountains (Carlyle, Fr. Revol. I 37, Everyman's Libr.).

Cinque Ports: *Cinque port* baron (1795 Chron. in Ann. Reg. 4), -policy, -liberties (1889 M. Burrows, Cinque Ports). *Port(s)man* 'a citizen or inhabitant of the Cinque Ports'.

Dardanelles: the *Dardanelles* Controversy (Sc.).

Invalides: the *Invalides* Station (Stand.).

Low Countries: *Low-Countrey*-men (1625 Bacon), *Low-Country* officer (1889 Corbett), -kneebreeches (1889 Doyle).

Midlands: the *Midlands* Aviation Meeting (TW 509/4).

Netherlands: the *Netherlands* Minister (1909 Stand. 5 June).

New Hebrides: The *New Hebrides* Islands (TW 929/4).

Tuileries: the *Tuileries* Garden (Carlyle, op. cit. p. 41), Avenue (ibid. p. 143), -charge (ibid. p. 143).

West Indies: a *West-India* man; the *West Indies* stations (Wendt p. 16).

2. *Compounds with subst. occurring chiefly or usually in plural.*

See the introd. remarks to the preceding division.

ashes: *ash*-colour, -heap, etc.; *ashes*-dodding (a 1564 Becon).

assizes: *assise*-assembly (1624 Sanderson). *Assize*-week (1628 Earle), -town, -court.

barracks: *barrack*-life, -room, -yard, etc.

arts: *artsman* 'scholar' (1605 Bacon) may contain genitival or connecting *s*, as also †*artsmaster*, but in *the arts students* and *arts curriculum* (NED *art* 7) (Sc. 11

Feb. 6/2) there is no doubt as to the plural character of the *s*.

colours: *colour*-chest, -service; -sergeant (Kipl. Kim).

eaves: *eaves*-board, -catch, -dropper, -martin. *Eave-drop* (1611 Cotgr.) and *eave-board* (1809 R. Langford), relate to the occasionally occurring sing. form *eave*.

embers: ember-bread (1681 Wharton).

gripes: *gripe*-mixture, -water.

hatches (obsolete) 'a movable planking forming a kind of deck in ships': *hatches*-way (1626 Capt. Smith, 1627 Seaman's Gram.). Later *hatchway* by reason of the plural form's becoming obsolete.

honours '— — — a position or title of rank, a degree of nobility, a dignity': 1910 Stand. 24 June 8/5, The first *Honours List* of the new reign is chiefly remarkable for its length. The Prime Minister has advised the King to confer various dignities upon a large number of gentlemen for the most part unknown to fame.

Middle Ages: *Middle-age* romance, schoolmen, spirit.

oats: *oat*-grass, -meal, -mill, etc.

pampas: *pampas*-cat, -clay, -deer, -Indian, etc.

plains: «In colonial and U. S. use applied to level treeless tracts of country; prairie». Cpp: *plains*-cattle, -country, -craft, -people, -man; a *Plains* Indian S. D. p. 2022[1], *plains*-drivers, Kipling, Jungle Book p. 202. Cf *Plainsward,* Kipling, Phant. Ricksh. p. 10.

spirits: *spirit*-lamp, -merchant, etc.

straits: *Straits* Settlements, *Straits* Oil «. . cod-liver oil manufactured from the livers of fish caught in the straits between Newfoundland and Labrador, whence the name . .» CD.

wages: *wage*-earner, -fund, -work; *wages*-fund, -man, -question (TW 555/3), -scale (Sc. 13 July 13/3); the *Wages* and Victualling Votes (TW 1911, 201/3). Usage varies greatly: in one newspaper article I find within

the space of a few lines the cpp *wage*-earning, *wage* problem, *wages* data, as well as both the simple forms *wage* and *wages* (1911 TW 48/2).

3. *Compounds with ordinary plurals.*

A. Appositional cpp.

The word occurring most of all as first element is *men*. Examples from the 17th century onwards:

1556 Chron Gr. Friars: *men chylderne;* 17th c.: *men-miracles, -saints, -singer;* 18th c.: *men-actors, -cooks, -fellows;* 19th c.: *men-Cingalese, -sphinxes, -cattle.*

Other cases:

1503 Act 19 Hen. VII: *Brethren Aldermen.*

1537 in Brand, Hist. Newcastle: the *Freazours Preachours.*

1556 Chron. Gr. Friars: *women chylderne.*

1577 Harrison: *knights Bannerets, Knights Batchelors.*

1610 Guillim. Heraldry: *Lions-dragons, Lions-Poisons.*

1611 Bible: *women singers.*

1652 Brome: *Knights Adventurers* (cf 1636 Massinger, *Knight adventurers*).

1670 Walton: *Brethren Ministers.*

1687 T. Brown: *Women-Saints.*

1706 Phillips: *Knights Banneret* (cf 1577 Harrison, *knights Bannerets*).

1719 Defoe, Rob. Crusoe p. 552 (Gold Treas. Ser. 1899): *Women Slaves.*

1820 Keats: *brethren Gods.*

1828 Stark: *Feet-jaws* (Foot-jaw 'one of the anterior limbs of crustacea . . . which are modified so as to assist in mastication'.

1868 Gladstone: *gods-avengers.*

In Present English the only cases of appositional compounds with the first element in plural are — in addition to a few titles such as *Lords-Lieutenants, Lords-Justices, Knights Bachelors* — cpp with *men* and *women: men servants, women voters,* etc., including *gentlemen* (passengers), *noblemen* (graduates) and other cpp with *men* (*working-men* candidates TW 906/2). Plural is, however, not absolutely consistent, e. g. *The Woman Suffragists* (TW 475/1).

B. Non-Appositional cpp.

1) *Examples earlier than Present English.*

1526 Tindale Eph.: *men pleasars;* 1 Tim.: *men-stealers.*

1539—40 Abp. Parker: *parts taking* (is recorded also from 1593 and 1598).

1549 Compl. Scot.: *Ky mylk* (it should be noted ME *ky(e)* is still retained in Sc. and N. Engl.).

c 1550 Cheke: *menfischers.*[1]

1553 T. Wilson: *men-flesht* vilaynes.

1559 Neal: *Menkind.*

1564 Becon: *tapers-hallowing* (see NED ashes-dodding).

1590 Marlowe: *goat-feet* dance.

1595 J. Dickenson: *horn-feet* halfe-gods.

1599 Hakluyt: *men-eaters.*

Shakespeare (Schmidt): *gutsgriping.*

1607 Topsell: *mice-trap.*

1615 Hieron: *men-pleasing.*

1628 S. P. Dom. Chas.: *pacquets postmaster* (Hollyhead for keepinge a Book ... to Transport the Packets

[1] Objective cpp with *men* are very common in all periods, e. g. 17th c.: *men*-catchers, -menders, -stealers; 18th c.: *men*-eaters, -makers, -trappers; 19th c.: *men*-fishing, -hunters, -stealers, -worshippers.

To Ireland. *Margin.* This to be performed by the pacquets postmaster (NED packet-boat).

1629 S'hertogenbosh: *feet-benches.*

1638 Brathwait: *pencelesse.*

1640—1 Kirkendbr. War-Comm.: *kyne hydes.*

1649 Drumm. of Hawth.: *goat-feet* sylvans.

1674 Ray N. C. Words: a *Geose* or *Goose cree.*

1679—88 Secr. serv. Money Chas.: *robes-room.*

1704 Dict. Rust. } *lungs-growing.*
1730—6 Bailey }

1706 in Phillips } *lice-bane* (1791 *liceling,* nonce-
1755 in Johnson } word).

1708 Kersey: *Nostrils-Dropping,* a Distemper in Cattel.

1709 Strype: *fruits-paying.*

1710 T. Fuller: Take Powder of *Crabs-claws* compound.

1762 Goldsm.: *feet-swathers.*

1771 Encycl. Brit.: *sales-book.*

1775 Ash: *sales-work.*

1803 E. S. Bowne } *kine pox.*
1868 Lossing }

1818 Art Preserv. Feet: *feet-stoves.*

c 1820 S. Rogers: Wains *oxen-drawn.*

1834 Tait's Mag.: *pence-encumbered* pockets.

1844 Mrs Carlyle; *parcels delivery.*

1848 Lytton: *penceless.*

1858 Simmonds: *Parcels Delivery* Company.

1859 Househ. Words } *Parcels post,* now *Parcel post.* NED observes: «At first called erroneously *Parcels post*».
1883 P. O. Guide }

1861 Dickens: *pence-table.*

1871 C. Gibbon: He would be ready to endure the ceremony of '*feet*-washing' on the eve of his bridal.

1894 Westm. Gaz.: *pence-collection.*

1899 Athenæum: *pence-paying* realms.

Peas(e)- varies with *pea-* since the 18th century: *pease*-hook, -pudding, -soup (*pea*-blossom, -rick); 19th c.: *pease*-meal, -soup, *peas(e)*-pudding. *Pea* originates from c 1600, but sing. *pease* still lived in the 18th century.

2) *Present English examples.*

a.

Fisheries exhibition, fisheries act, fisheries school (but *fishery industry, law, officer, woman*) (NED); *inebriates*[']*reformatory* (besides *inebriate*) (Lancet 1908 II p. 399); An Imperial *Inventions Exhibition* (TW 8 Apr.); *loans fund* (Sc. 13 July 12/1; occurs twice in the article); *sales-book* 'a book or record of sales', *sale(s)-room* (NED); the *seconds-hand* of a time-piece (NED moment 10), *seconds pendulum* (CD); *Sports Exhibition* (TW 352/3), *sports land, sports centre* (Lancet 1908 II p. 267); *trades-union* (used promiscuously with *trade-union,* both forms being often met with on the same page or in the same column, e. g. Sc. 9 Feb. 11/4), *trades delegates* (Sc. 13 July 7/8); 'She has studied *trade*[1] *schools* for girls in Switzerland and Paris, and has had much experience of *trades and arts and crafts schools* for girls in London' (MP 1910); an *old age pensions card* (MP 8 March).

b.

The *Armaments Programme* (TW 1911, 104/1); The Chelsea *Arts Club* Ball (TW 1911 149/4); British *Assets Trust* (Sc. 11 March); The Nobel's *Explosives Company* (TW 15 Apr.); The *Golfing Topics Column* (Sc. 15 March); The «*Infirmities*» *declaration* (Westm. Gazette 14 Feb. 1910, 6/4: An interesting attitude was taken up with regard to the ~. «While retaining the

[1] Note that it is only in the special sense of 'craft' or 'occupation of an artisan' that *trade-* varies with *trades-*.

entry of the blind and the deaf and dumb», runs the report, «the Committee are doubtful as to the value of the record of the mentally unsound — — —»); *names-calling* (A. T. Quiller-Couch, Sir John Constantine, Ch. 2: as a Wykehamist, you will not have me late at ~); the *Hospitals Cup* (TW 1911 238/2); the *'noes'-lobby* (reference lost; cf *'no'-lobby,* Stand. 3 Feb. 1910); The *poisons book* (TW 810/2: Crippen had to sign the ~); the *Prisons Vote* (TW 1911 127/3); the Trustee *Savings Banks Association* of Edinburgh (TW 15 Apr.); the *School Areas Question* (Sc. 22 March); the *Amateur Foils Championship* (TW 1911 257/3); the *Subworks Manager* (Stand. 13 Dec. 1909); the *Churches Commission* (Sc. 5 Apr., cf the *Prison Commission,* TW 433/1); the *Improvements Committee* (TW 1911 66/2); the *Industries Commission* (TW 1911 205/1); The first Universal *Races Congress* (Rev. of Reviews 1910 334/1; ibid. 334/2 the *Race Congress*); the Imperial *Universities Congress* (TW 913/1); Edinburgh *Trades Council* (Sc. 13 July 7/8). Compounds with *act* and *bill* (very numerous): *Aliens Act* (MP 28 Feb.), *Children Act* (Daily News 12 Apr. 1909, besides *Children's Act*), *Crimes Act* (TW 651/4), *Inebriate(s) Act* (Sc. 7 March, ibid. the *Inebriate Problem*), *Theatres Act* (TW 207/1); *Mines Bill* (TW 164/2), *Old Age Pension(s) Bill* (MP 8 March), *Prisons Bill* (TW 433/1), (cf the *place act* 'by which the holders of places of profit under the Crown are ineligible for the House of Commons' (Wm. Gaz. 1903, NED).

The *Lands Valuation* Appeal Court (Sc.); The *Mines Accidents* Bill (TW 510/4); The *Shops Regulation* Acts (Sc. 13 July 12/1).

Transvaal *Salaries Incident* (TW 507/3: 'The Cape Times to-day publishes some interesting comments in regard to Colonel Seely's speech — — — with reference

to the payment of full salaries to the members of the last Transvaal Parliament'.)

The (Atlantic) *fisheries dispute*, the *fisheries controversy*, the *Fisheries Arbitration* (TW 311/3); the Rand Mines Issue (TW 1911 216/4); The *Works item* (in the Civil List) (TW 515/4). The *Law Courts Branch* of the Bank of England. The *Veto Resolutions Debate* (Sc. 5 Apr.); the *Oxford Blues Committee* (Wendt p. 45); the (House of) *Lords question* (MP, May 1910); *Congestred District(s) Board* (TW 15 Apr.).

'For his well-known *Tigers-team* Count J. de Madre invariably enlists the services of Army Officers. The Count has taken part in polo — —' (MP 20 May 2/3).

c.

Small holdings officers (Times 3 March 1910). *Parks and Open Spaces Committee* (Stand. 16 Dec. 1909). *Metropolitan Asylums Board* (MP 26 May 3/5). The *Soldiers and Sailors Families Association* (Stand. 5 June 1909). A *'closed-doors' meeting* (Stand. 16 Dec. 1909). The *United States Army*. *Separate Plays Editions* (of Ibsen) (Academy 1910, p. 551). Our *Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos* (Wendt p. 21; cf *Modern Language Review*, *Modern Language Notes*). The *Episcopalian Schools difficulty* (Sc.); the Church of England *Waifs and Strays Society* (Sc.); *all-works horses* (Wright, Dial. D.); *French Floods Commission* (Stand. 1910); *Welsh Coalfields Trouble* (Sc. 10 March 10/1); *American Mails Complaint* (TW 1911 253/3); the *English-values basis* (Sweet, Pract. Study of Languages p. 20: Ellis afterwards had the unhappy idea of constructing a 'Universal Glossic' on the ~, which is a complete failure); *Western rates cases* (TW 507/3 *Freight Rate Decisions*. The Inter-State Commerce Commission has delivered its decision in several important ~).

The *Three Cups Inn* (A. T. Quiller-Couch, Sir J. Constantine, Ch. 7); *twopence* (or twopenny) *grass* (CD); the Turkish *two-wives system,* the *two-children theory;* a *ten-wickets Middlesex victory* (Wendt p. 20). The *Three Choirs Festival* at Gloucester (TW 699/1).

As appears from the present collection of examples, and as has already been pointed out, plural compounding is on the whole to be regarded as an exceptional phenomenon. But, if we consider the division of pluralia tantum by itself, we find that the exceptions are so numerous that they ought rather to be denoted as the rule. This has in the majority of cases a natural explanation.

If we turn first to that group in which the plural form is combined with singular function, it is in no way surprising to find that the cases, almost without exception, enter into composition unchanged in form; for the words being apprehended, or it being possible to apprehend them as singular, the ending remained unaffected by analogy and had no reason to drop. (This rule does not apply, of course, to such plurals as are used as sing. only in careless or vulgar speech, e. g. *spectacles, scales.*) Quite as natural is it that those MnE plur. tant. with sing. sense, which earlier were used also in sing. form, and which, consequently, also entered into composition in that form, exchanged their old composition-form for a new one (according morphologically with the new sing.) when the simplex was becoming obsolete, and the new sing. construction of the plural arose. Examples are *bellows, gallows, pains.* The cause of *light-skirts* losing its *s* is plainly that *skirt* has an independent existence, on account of which the word became associated with other combinations *light* + subst. occurring in attributive use. As for *Ramilie wig,* the absence of the *s* may be owing to the circumstance that *Ramillies* was

no familiar name, and was therefore apt in popular speech to undergo morphological changes.

In other plur. tant. the retention of the ending is for the most part explained by the necessity for avoiding ambiguity. Thus, in plur. tant. proper, i. e. such as are not at all used in sing., the ending regularly drops, whereas in those that are plur. tant. in a specific sense only it is just as regularly kept. The reason is that in the latter category the plural has a sense other than that of the corresponding singular, because of which the ending is indispensable to avoid misapprehension. Such cases are *bodies, braces* (-maker; *brace button* does not relate to *braces*), *breeches, clothes, Commons, contents, fireworks* (a *firework* means a 'rocket'; see NED firework), *fives, foins (foin gown* could be mistaken for 'a gown made of the fur of the foin'), *goods, manners, measles* (*measle-disease* has reference to swine, NED), *salts, savings* (s. *-bank* is a bank 'for receiving and investing *savings*', whereas I take a *saving institution* to be one for saving, for the encouragement of people to save), *sessions*. — Here belongs, further, *customs,* the *s* of which is necessary in composition to distinguish it from *custom,* its special senses being 'the duties levied upon imports as a branch of the public revenue' and 'the department of Civil Service employed in levying these duties'. But why is *custom-house* the only cp relating to *customs* where the first element appears in the sing. form? Apparently because the *custom-house* existed long before the idea of 'customs' had arisen, in addition to the circumstance that owing to the frequency and currency of the notion the parts of the cp gradually became so firmly united that when the 'custom-house' was applied to the levying of 'customs' its name remained unchanged. The irresistible agency of analogy has, however, latterly caused the *s* to intrude also here.

— *Pointsman, scalesman* are supported by the large group of *s*-compounds with *-man*.

Why did not *greens* keep its ending in cpp as *goods* does? Ambiguity of sense was as likely to attend the one as the other. It may be supposed that, plural cpp being as yet comparatively rare at the beginning of the 17th c. when the first cp is instanced, an unconscious distaste was felt for saying **greensmarket* etc. In addition to this the sing. *green-* had some support in the sense 'tree, herb, plant', then not yet obsolete.

Plains and *pampas* in all probability owe the retention of their ending likewise to the special sense developed by the plural. A *plains indian* does not mean an indian inhabiting a plain, but one inhabiting the plains, the prairies. And if, in *the Straits Settlements, Strait* were substituted for *Straits,* that would hamper the direct association of the expression with the particular straits in question, the Straits of Malakka.

The avoiding of ambiguity is the reason also in the cases of *arts* and *honours,* but in compounds with *eaves* the *s* has remained since the time when the word was still conceived as a singular. The same is true of *pease*. *S*-less composition-forms are met with in the two latter instances in proportion to the currency of the respective back-formations.

As appears from the list, usage is sometimes unsettled as to the form of pluralia tantum in composition; not only are both forms found in one and the same compound, such as *scissor(s)-grinder, snuffer(s)-tray, trouser(s)-pockets,* but also one form has become fixed in one cp and the other one in another, e. g. *shears-moth* but *shear-tail*. In this instance the variation is the more capricious as both cpp are names of one and the same bird.

Compounds with ordinary plurals are harder to account for by reason of their comparatively rare occur-

rence. With reference to the cases earlier than Present English, French influence is unmistakeable in some of the appositional ones — which are given as a separate group, because, in them, the first element appears in the plural only when the second stands in the plural —, e. g. in *Lions-dragons, Lions-poisons, Freazours Preachours, beggers frerys.* Another circumstance perhaps worthy of consideration is the very large percentage of the earlier cases that have gradation-plurals, or plurals otherwise irregular, for their first elements. To account for this it may be suggested that, as such forms do not impress themselves on the ear as plurals so forcibly as the regular ones, being, through their morphological appearance, rather suggestive of singulars, they did not withstand compounding so strongly as regular plurals. Consequently, this kind of plural cpp would not have to be put exactly on a par with the others, and if we therefore except them the number of cases will be greatly reduced.

As appears from the survey, it is only recently that plural compounding has gained a firm footing in the language. This statement must not, however, be apprehended as if plural compounding had attained in Present English, even approximately, the same degree of frequency as, for instance, in Modern German, where plural compounds tend to be used whenever they are semologically justified, thus constituting an actually productive form of composition (cf Wilmanns, Deutsche Gr. II § 395). In Present English this form of composition cannot be denoted as productive — at least not speaking generally.

There is ample evidence to show that present usage is far from being settled, but still, certain tendencies are discernible, and if I should try to formulate them it would be as follows.

On comparing the Present English examples with

the older ones we shall find a striking dissimilarity. The former for the most part differ from the latter in a characteristic manner, partly morphologically — apart from the difference alluded to above — partly semologically. Those instances in which this difference is not present are very few and far between. Those I have found are grouped together under (a).

The vast majority of Present English examples may be divided into two groups, namely, such as denote, or form the appellation of something solitary or special (group b), and such as have a syntactical group for their first member (group c).

Some of the cases in group b. are almost on the border between appellatives and names, e. g. The *Explosives Company,* the compounds with *act, bill,* etc. And all the examples differ from general appellatives in denoting something special. Characteristic, too, is the presence of the definite article. In the instance *names-calling,* again, it is the absence of the article that suggets that in the context quoted the word is employed in a somewhat special sense as the denomination of a kind of institution. The examples *Mines Accidents Bill, Shops Regulation Acts,* and *Lands Valuation Appeal Court* do not properly belong here, since the plurals are first elements of the primary cpp *Mines Accidents, Shops Regulation,* and *Lands Valuation,* and not of the secondary (tertiary) ones. But it is most probable that their presence in the compounds cited is owing to the specific signification of the latter., as they would hardly be found in independent appellatives *lands valuation,* etc.

Very often the special sense characteristic of the compounds we are now dealing with becomes still more marked through the first elements not being used in their general sense, but in one more or less specialized. Thus, in *the fisheries dispute, fisheries* does not mean *fisheries* in general (as in *fisheries school*), but those

specific Atlantic fisheries as to which a dispute has been going on for some length of time, which dispute has latterly been settled through the Arbitration Court at the Hague *(Fisheries Arbitration).* Similarly, in *the Works item, Works* denotes the particular works figuring in the Royal Civil List, and in *the Salaries incident* the first element is obviously used in a concreted sense.

In *Tigers-team,* the *Oxford Blues Committee, Law Courts Branch,* and others, we have to deal with actual names. Compare the plur. tant. *Cevennes, Midlands,* etc. which, as we have seen (p. 84), enter, as a rule, unchanged into composition. The exception *Low Country officers, — kneebreeches* becomes rather puzzling when compared with the *Netherlands Minister.* Can it have anything to do with the sense of the whole cp being special in the latter instance, but not in the former?

Here, in passing, it may be observed that PAUL's theory about the general condition for a compound's being able to arise does not hold good — at least not in the general form given to it by Paul — which is evident from the phenomenon just now pointed out. PAUL says (Prinz. § 228): «Eine Vorbedingung für die Entstehung eines Kompositums — — — besteht darin, dass die zu Grunde liegende syntaktische Verbindung als Ausdruck eines einheitlichen Begriffes gefasst werden kann, und dies ist nur möglich, wenn wenigstens das bestimmende Element in derselben in seiner allgemeinen Bedeutung zu nehmen ist und nicht in einer konkreten Individualisierung.»

Plural compounds with syntactical groups are not absolutely confined to Present English; earlier examples certainly occur (e. g. Carlyle, Fr. Revol. I 125 *wisdom-of-ancestors method;* ibid. 162 *out-of-doors multitude;* Dickens, Pickw. p. 897 [New Cent. Libr.]: There were two judges in attendance at Serjeant's Inn — one King's Bench and one *Common Pleas* . . .; even as early as

Shakespeare we meet with such cpp: A damnable *both-sides rogue* [Schmidt]), but it is only in our days that they have become current. Now-a-days, when a syntactical group with the last link in the plural is used as the first element of a compound, the tendency to keep the ending is so strong that it may practically be said to be the rule.

To this rule I have noted two exceptions, namely, in the first place, compounds with *inter* + subst. for their first element (*inter-state commerce,* etc.), in the second place, compounds with a numeral + subst. as first element (*six-penny book, three-class system,* etc.; further examples may be found in Wendt, p. 20). In the last category the rule is, however, subject to certain modifications. In subst. denoting time or space the above construction varies with gen. plur (a five hours' walk, a ten-mile ride; three quarter[s] canvas, CD, the five kilometres world's record, Sc. 12 Feb. 9/7). Plural common scarcely occurs unless the cp may be classed in group b, i. e. has some special sense. Such is the case in *the Three Cups Inn, the Three Choirs Festival, twopence grass,* the *two-wives system, two-children theory.*

Note 1. The usage of putting substantives in the singular in this position is old, cf a *tuentifot-wurme* (15th c. WW 166,28), the *XII penny lande* (Meyer. op. cit. [p. 76 above] p. 25).

Note 2. An equivalent construction, in cases when the signification allows of it, is derivation with *-ed:* a *two-storeyed* house, and yet another one is derivation with the substantive suffix *-er,* in which case the last member of the cp becomes the genus proximum of the first: a *two-decker* line-of-battleship (NED battle 12), a *three-decker* ship (CD), a *forty-pounder* siege-gun (Kipling).

As regards the explanation of the general retention of the plural endings in groups b and c one theory

suggests itself rather readily, viz. that it is due to their largely casual and loose character (e. g. newspaper headings). Thus, *Transvaal Salaries Incident* is a purely casual juxtaposition of the chief words of a sentence, brought about by the need for a concentrated expression; the links remain in the same order and form, in which they got precipitated from the sentence. The singular form suggests a closer union between the elements, and consequently occurs mainly in compounds of general currency. Illustrative of the difference are *Modern Languages Tripos* and *Modern Language Review*. As for group c, yet another explanation may be suggested, namely, that in a syntactical group the plural ending of the last link does not belong to that only, but to the whole expression; because of which the linguistic instinct is opposed to the dropping of the ending *(wisdom-of-ancestors method)*. Sometimes a change of form in the last link would necessitate a like change in the middle of the group *(Parks and open Spaces Committee)*.

The result we have reached as to the frequency of plural compounding in Present English would, then, be summed up, thus: firstly, that pluralia tantum, and subst. occurring chiefly in the plural, keep their endings whenever the sense requires it; secondly, that ordinary plurals are rarely met with in composition, except when the compound denotes something special, or when the first element is a syntactical group, in which cases the plural form of compounding may be said to be productive.

THIRD CHAPTER.

Weak Compounds.

A.

Genitive Compounds.

It has been emphasized in the Introduction that no sharp line of demarcation can be drawn between weak compounds and syntactical groups. This impossibility of deciding, in each individual case, whether a given combination ought to be regarded as a compound or not, is especially pronounced in the older periods of the language, for it stands to reason that if in Present English it is difficult to draw conclusions as to the willingness or unwillingness to reflect on the special parts of a combination, it must be much more so when we are dealing with far-off periods, and with the ways of thinking of people long ago dead.

Old English. If we turn first to Old English, there exist for that period no objective criteria, by means of which we are in a position to decide if we have a genitival compound before us. We can draw no conclusions from the orthographic forms, as in OE manuscripts the sense was not the point of view decisive in the separation and joining of words (see gen. rem. p. 127). Nor can any assumption be founded on the character of the stress (cf SWEET

§ 894). Nothing, in a word, can be alleged to prove the existence of genitive compounds in Old English. The only thing we have to guide our judgment is our linguistic instinct. Thus, our linguistic instinct at once denotes as compounds combinations in which there is isolation of meaning, such as *dæges éage, géaces súre, witena-gemót.* In the passage: 'sume synt yrþlingas, sume scephyrdas, sume oxanhyrdas' (quoted from Archbishop Aelfric's Colloquy, WW 90,9) we likewise feel that *oxanhyrdas* must be a compound. And it can be nothing else than this instinct that has induced editors of texts and lexicographers to put a hyphen between the members in, for instance, *byri-weard, bytte-hlid, helle-hæfta, pápan-hád.*

But our linguistic instinct cannot tell us anything as to the degree of stability of such compunds; for, as for the most part it depends upon currency whether reflexion on the special sense-units is present or not, and, as in all cases when a word is sparingly recorded we are unable to form an opinion as to its currency, we are in most cases not in a position to decide whether the combinations in question have really grown into the state of compound, or if they are only what Brugmann terms 'werdende Composita' (Grundr. II: 4). Thus, if some poet called the sun *dæges steorra,* it was no compound, although there was isolation of sense, but *dæges éage* apparently was a popularly current appellation of that beautiful little flower which, like an eye, opens and closes with the daylight.

Under the circumstances a statement as to the frequency in Old English of genitival compounds must of necessity be arbitrary. An examination of the material by application of the principle established shows, however, that the frequency is small, nay, it may even be said that such compounding is exceptional, save in a few specific, semological categories, viz: —

Examples. 1) place-names (including *flurnamen*); this category is extraordinarily numerous, e. g.

Abban dún	Oxena ford
Acsan mynster	Seoles ég
Angles ég	alre wyll
Bæbban burg	beran dell
Bedan ford	ceorla cumb
Buccinga hám	earne leah
Cantwaraburg	fyxan díc
Defene scír	mægðe ford
Hrefnesholt (Beow. 2936)	suge bróc
Hrefna-wudu (ibid. 2926)	

There is a plentiful selection of the latter type in Middendorff; cf, however, p. 39 above.

2) plant-names (and less often animal-names):

cattes-minte	gate tréow
dæges-éage	~ þyrne (Jordan p. 138)
fugeles léac	géaces súre
~ wíse	henne-belle
foxes cláte	hundes heafod
~ clife	~ tunge
~ fót	lambes cerse
~ glofa	léon-fót
múse-píse	stréawberigean wíse (also -berige)
oxan-slyppe	wulfes camb
oxna-lybb	~ tǽsl
hundes-béo	hundes wyrm
~ fléoge	heges-sugge
~ lús	rinde-clifer
~ micge	swíneslús (WW 122,26)

Strong compounding is rare (hafoc-wyrt, eofor-þrote, heorot-clǽfre, næder wyrt).

3) names of days and other words of time e. g.

Sunnandæg	Sæter(n)esdæg (besides Sæter(n)-)
Món(an)dæg	
Tíwesdæg	Monan niht
Wednesdæg	Tiwes niht etc.
þunresdæg	úhtantíd
Frigedæg	cýlda-mæsse dæg

Among genitival cpp may, further, be classed the

4) kenningar, as to which I refer the reader to Grimm's collection, Gram. II: 602. — A kind of kenning is, too, *wulfes-héafod* 'Rechtsausdruck für einen Geächteten, der ebenso ungestraft getötet werden kann wie einen Wolf' (Jordan, p. 61); cf *wulf-héafod-tréo.*

In all the above categories there was isolation of sense. The following comb., without isolation, were, further, presumably cpp. To begin with we can here distinguish another category, i. e. such cpp where

4) the second element is a personal appellative, e. g.

ǽhte-mann	brýdiguma [2]
~ swán	fǽmnhádes mann
ǽs laruas [1]	hyldemæg
ǽwe-weard	oxanhyrde
burga mann	scír(e)mann [3]
byrigmann	scírewita
byriweard	stéoresmann

Other examples cannot be classed under special headings. First of all the two subst. *hell* and *hild* should be observed, because the number of genitive-cpp formed by them is comparatively the greatest of all, e. g. *helle-*bealu, -déofol, -duru, etc.; *hilde-*bill, -cyst, -léoþ, etc. (besides a smaller number with *hell-, hild-*).

Further ex.

[1] Rushworth Gospels, Studien z. engl. Philol. VIII p. 7; also *ǽ laruas.*

[2] ? recorded once in Supplem. to Alfric's Voc. WW 171,7.

[3] also *scírig-,* as to which cf *hýre-, hýrigmann.*

béo(n)-bréad
béon-broþ
bexéa (beccs-, Midd.)
boge(n)-streng
Engla-land
fǽmn(an)-hád
henne fugol [1]
hylle-(hil-)háma
íses gicel
léon flæsc
~ hwelpas
mǽdweland
mannes blod [2]
marm(an)stán
nunn(an)mynster
bytte-hlid
cumena hús
dene-land
eaxl(e)-gespann
oxan cealf [3]
~ horn
papan-hád
ráde-here (besides rǽde)
róde-hengenn
scipes botm
~ flór
~ hlaford
} gloss words
suge-sweard
wǽne(s)-þísl
witena-gemót [4]
ylpes-bán.

Perhaps the following cases, too, ought to be conceived as cpp: —

ne he on *horses hricge* cuman wolde (Bede, Eccl. Hist. p. 160); Breoton ist *garsecges ealond*, ðæt wæs in geara Albion háten (ibid. p. 24); Eugenia hæfde cer þán asteald *mynecena mynster* mid mycelre gehealdsumnysse (Aelfric, Lives of Saints, p. 42).

As regards the stems represented in genitive-composition, *a*- and *n*-stems are in the majority. Of other stems there are in my material — apart from place-names — 7 ō-stems. 4 i-stems, 4 jō-stems, 3 cons. stems, 1 u-stem, and 1 wō-stem.

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[1] BT: þǽr æfter swulten þá henne fugeles.

[2] ALFRED, Orosius, p. 30: hi gesáwon ~ agoten.

[3] CLARK HALL, Dict.

[4] Uncertain; cf the following passage from the Saxon Chronicle from the year 1048 (EARLE and PLUMMER, Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel, etc. Oxford 1892, p. 174): þa gerædde se cyning & his witan þæt man sceolde oðre syðan habban *ealra gewitena gemót* on Lundene to hærfestes emnihte.

Middle English.

In Middle English we encounter on the whole the same difficulties in distinguishing genitive compounds from syntactical groups as in Old English. It is true, in such texts where the vocalic ending has, as a rule, been ousted by the *s*-gen., isolated combinations without *s* sometimes prove themselves to be cpp through their departure from the rule, as in the Ormulum instances *cullfre bridd* (7887) and *hellepine* (13863) compared with *aness cullfress hewe* (ibid. 15956) and *helless grimme pine* (7964), but since in these texts, too, the *s*-less genitive is often used in ummistakeable syntactical constructions, e. g. *ure sawle nede* (Ormulum 244), *alle þede spæchess* (ibid. 15989), *his lady grace* (Sweet § 993), this criterion is of little value.

In ME there arises another difficulty, namely, that of differentiating weak compounds (or synt. groups) from strong cpp, that is to say, to decide if the first element stands in the nominative or in the genitive. Ambiguous cases existed already in OE, e. g. *cú tægl, fæder-feoh, sǽ-earm,* but there they played an unimportant rôle, whilst in ME they have grown so numerous that they may pretty nearly be said to be characteristic of the period. This applies principally to Early Southern. Here the action of sound-laws and analogy resulted in strong and weak feminines, as well as weak masculines and neuters, becoming levelled under the same ending (cf Sweet § 969 foll.). Hence, in the innumerable cases when the context gives no clue, a combination with the first element ending in *e* allows of double interpretation. Quite wrong is it, therefore, *a priori* to give preference to the genitive (cf Knapp, Ausbreitung d. flekt. Gen. in ME p. 57, who denotes as genitival such combinations as *kirke dure* and *dore-bem.*)

Less often can ambiguous cases be assumed in late Southern and in East Midland and Northern ME, with their uniformly established s-ending in the genitive, but

also here there are not any absolutely tenable principles for the differentiation of weak cpp from strong; for the fact that, as was just pointed out, the old vocalic ending sometimes maintained its ground beside the other, renders strong compounding doubtful in cases where it might at first sight be assumed.

Another type of ambiguous combination present such whose first element is made up of a personal name or apellative in its uninflected form. Here we note, not only personal appellatives denoting kinship, in which the uninflected genitive was continued from OE, but personal apellatives in general. In this class of substantives the non-inflectional genitive appears to have been in fairly extensive use, judging from the ample selection of examples given by Knapp p. 52 (the *Duke of Bokynham dowter, Gawayn sister, adam kin,* the *king hand, prophet sun,* etc.). Cf also Mzn I p. 236.

Since, therefore, in such cases, the absence of ending is no guarantee that the first element stands in the nominative, we must set down as arbitrariness that *Custedoghter, Wattemayden* etc. (p. 67) have been entered in the division of strong compounds, but it would have been just as arbitrary to enter them here. Again, that they are real compounds and not syntactical groups is warranted, it seems to me, by their character as names, and by the circumstance that the members are always joined.

Other types of combination in which the uninflected first element admits of double interpretation are presented, firstly, by such groups whose first elements either end in a sibilant or are followed by an initial *s* in the second elem., (Knapp § 13), e. g, þe *cros might, hors fete, water side,* secondly by such as are compounded with nouns of time and space (according to Mätzner's statement Gr. II 2: 299), e. g. a *forlong way,* a *myle way,* a *day iorneye.* Compare NED, in which *myle way* and *day iorneye* are given as cpp.

In addition to the cases now dealt with, ambiguity due to non-inflectional genitive is encountered in isolated instances, e. g. *sea streamas*. But why Morsbach should apprehend *missomer day* to be due to the old inflection of the *u*-stems is indeed hard to see (Ursprung der neuengl. Schriftsprache p. III).

Hence, from what has been said, it is established that, in the types of combination referred to, it is generally impossible to make out on objective grounds whether the first element is nom. or gen. Since, further, even if the latter can be assumed, differentiation from syntactical groups cannot be made; (wherefore not less than three different ways of interpretation are possible), it is palpable that it would be meaningless to attempt to give any examples in order to illustrate the frequency of genitive cpp in ME. The reader is referred to Knapp's work, which contains enough material for speculation.

The only plain genitive-endings are *-es* and plur. *-ene*. There is hardly any occasion in ME for confusion with plur. common *-es,* because of the rarity of plural compounds in that period (see preceding chapter). I give some instances of combinations containing these endings, selected on the same principle as in the OE examples:

Examples.

place names:

Lindeseie	Portesham
Rokesburu	Portes mouþe
Romeseie	Windles-over
Oxene vord	

names of days:

Tiwes dai	þunres dæi
Wodnes dei	Sæter(n)es daig

plant-names:

daies eiȝe	hundes tunge
foxes glove	kattes minte
gosis gres	wulves fist

The following NED cases may also have been compounds, more or less:

children playes
godeshous
knyȝtene weye [1]
lands lau [2]
manneskinde
mansbond
mannysmete [3]
mans-slaghter
modris langage
moderis wytte
oxes stalle [4]
pyles shone [5]
steores man (SB)

As possible I further record:

childis game [6]
childrene scole [7]
dowuys hows [6]
lombes fleose [8]
mannes flesshe [9]
~ qwellere [10]
masonnes craft [11]
potteris ærth, [6] Argilla
pigges bones [12]
schepyspilote [6]
a someres day [13]
waspys neste [6]

Modern English.

Of the ambiguous construction prevailing in ME of using certain substantives in genitival function without any ending, there are, perhaps, some traces in Early Modern English. Franz, for instance, takes the following Shakespearian cases to be genitival (Shakespeare-Grammatik, 2 aufl., §. 199 foll.): at *street end* (later folios *street's*), at my *horse heels,* on his *horse back,* on the

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[1] 1398 histories clepiþ such a wey ~.
[2] Cursor M., ‘þat he ne yu ne luue mare þan ~.
[3] horsmete and ~.
[4] in an ~, Chaucer.
[5] 1495 A pykas and ij ~.
[6] Promp. Parv.
[7] ancre ne schal nout turnen hire ancre hus to ~, NED.
[8] ischrud mid ~, Mzn Wb.
[9] nayl & heer of ~, Cursor M, v. 546.
[10] Qwene Thamare., Whilk Cirus.. ~ hevedid, NED.
[11] thei ben.. made of ~, Maundeville, Mzn p. 52.
[12] and in a glas he hadde ~, Chaucer, Prol. 700.
[13] King Horn v. 29.

forest side, Rome gates, Lethe wharf, Tiber banks. We must, however, leave it an open question how far justified he is in making this interpretation, as, in deciding this point, we have nothing but our linguistic instinct to fall back on (cf Abbott, Shakesp.-gram., § 22, who does not apprehend these expressions as genitival). At any rate, in the instances quoted, as well as in his 17th c. ones: 'after his owne *countrey fashion*', 'after inspecting the *beast bowels*', the genitival force seems, in fact, likely enough, but he is guilty of pure arbitrariness when he classes as genitival *heart-sorrow* and 'an *haire breadth*', as also in making the statement: »In 'to go on horse back' hat sich die me. genitiv-form *horse* bis auf den heutigen tag erhalten.» So is Mätzner in apprehending *partridge wing* as a genitive group (Gramm. I p, 235; NED heads it by »attrib. and. comb.»). It stands to reason that even though *horse* in *horseback* was once a genitive it is nowadays felt by everybody to be the singular common in the position of first element of a strong cp. At any rate, this mode of expressing the genitive in MnE is nearly negligible, and the only genitive combinations we have practically to deal with are those formed with the Anglo-Saxon genitive.

In how far genitive-combinations are to be classed as compounds is, here as well as in OE and in ME, dependent on everybody's individual conception. Sometimes, however, it happens that the individual conceptions of the many agree, and this is often evinced, in Present English, by the retention of uneven stress *(crow's-foot)*. In such compounds the elements are, moreover, generally joined by the hyphen or run together in to one word. As to the value of these outward signs as criteria of compound words, it may be said for certain that, if two words are written as one, they constitute a compound; on the other hand, if they are joined by the hyphen, that is no trustworthy sign, because the hyphen

is actually current in numerous combinations where compounding is out of the question, witness the modern usage of combining a past participle with a preceding adverbial adjunct by the hyphen, e. g. *quickly-arranged,* as also combinations such as *one-eighth.*

In Present English, therefore, we really have one or, properly, two objective criteria of genitive cpp: — uneven stress and the running together of the elements into one word, which latter criterion always involves the former. Still they are not of general application, in so far as all uneven-stress groups certainly are genitive cpp, but not vice versa. This latter circumstance is not paid attention to by Sweet who, from the standpoint of his definition of a compound (§ 68), consistently makes the following statement: »In Present English we can distinguish clearly between even-stress genitive groups, such as *king's son,* and uneven-stress genitive compounds, such as the plant-name *crow's-foot,* whose stress is perfectly parallel to that of other compound names of natural objects». But, from our point of view, this type of compound merely presents a higher degree of consolidation, whilst there is nothing to hinder also even-stress groups from being compounds.

The possibility of conceiving an even-stress genitive group is — as was the case with genitive groups in OE and ME — theoretically unlimited, since the decisive psychological factor may always come in; but in MnE we have sometimes, in contradistinction to the older periods, an outward token to guide our judgment. It would not in all probability occur to anybody to term *king's son* a compound, and, in point of fact, it is as a rule nothing of the kind, but nevertheless in some connexions it apparently has, or approaches to, the nature of a compound. For instance, in 'she was waiting for a fair king's son to come and woo her' the adjective qualifies 'son' and not 'king's', which unque-

stionably gives to the group a certain amount of unity. This construction is very common.

In Old English, too, the usage of squeezing in a genitival adjunct between its head-word and the article or another adjunct was very frequent: Albanus hæfde *þone Cristes andettere* mid him (Bede, Eccl. Hist. p. 34),[1] *þone manfullan Bretta cyning* (ibid. p. 154),[1] *se foresprecena Godes mann* (ibid. p. 34),[1] Wið suðan *þone Sciringes heal* (Alfr. Orosius p. 19),[1] etc. In OE, however, the character of these constructions is more dubious than in MnE. Sweet holds that already in OE they are compounds, or »semi-compounds», — he gives the example 'monige þára sélestena cyninges þegna' — and this view cannot be objectively refuted, but in my opinion the compound character of the construction is far less certain in OE, because in that period the feeling for the order of the words cannot yet be assumed to have been so developed that expressions of this description were necessarily felt as compounds. The nearest approach to the truth is, probably, that they were regular syntactical constructions. Compare PAUL's discussion of this point in German, Prinz. § 232.

As to how these expressions were conceived in Middle English, it is impossible to propound any opinion. It is, therefore, left an open question whether we are dealing with cpp or not in instances as 'Abraham is chosen to be *chef chyldryn fader*' (1325 E. E. Allitt. P.), *Myn eche daies gowne* (1422 E. E. Wills). *Þe Peteres þeni* (c 1205 Lay.). But in Modern English, on the other hand, this construction cannot be syntactical.[2] Further examples are:

her simple woman's faith (TW 355/2), this was *his man's way* of biting his handkerchief (Ill. Lond. News.,

[1] ed. EETS.

[2] cf the licence on this head in Swedish syntax: 'ett världens barn', 'en skrifternas uttolkare', etc.

Xmas Nr. 1909), *His bird's skill* to make his level flight .. must ever remain confusing to her (Kipling, Naulakha p. 264). *the last King's speech* (TW 349, relates to King Edward), *a two days' storm, his yesterday's address.* Still more striking becomes the unity presented by genitive groups in such positions when the genitive is in the plural, e. g. *a hornets' nest, a mothers' meeting, a children's home.* Early MnE examples: *a Nurses song* (Shakesp. Tit. Andr. 2), *a guestes chamber* (1580 Baret, Bible word-book), This life is but... *a Penelopes web* (16th c. Lady Pembroke),[1] *Burnt harts horn* (17th c.).

Frequency. As regards the frequency in MnE of genitive-compounds, it may be said from one point of view to be very great, for every genitival combination can, or at least can be thought to, occur in such a position that it presents, more or less occasionally, the characteristics of a compound. But if we take into consideration such cases only whose character of compound is not dependent on a certain position, i. e, such as show the formal mark above referred to, this statement must be materially modified.

As to Early MnE, I restrict myself to recording at random a few cases which have the appearance of cpp:

16th c: *fastens-even, Fastens Tuysday, God's service, bedshead, landslord* (Greene, I am the ~, Keeper, of thy holds), *mans-age, mans-meat, mans-kinde, mothers tongue;* (Horse hair) *Deers-hair,* and *Goats-hair; deaths-head, fieres-bird* ('which stays by or hovers round the fire'), *fooles fire* ('a will-o'-the-wisp'); 17th c: *beds-feet, cox-house, death's ring* ('a death's-head ring'), *death's-herb, dogs-face* ('a term of abuse') *dogs-game* ('game hunted with dogs') *dog's rose, deaths-day* (1639 'keeping a ~ as well as a birth-day'), *Earths-amazing* (1624 Quarles 'Jehovah did at length unshroud his ~ language), *July's day* 'Shakesp.

[1] SCHICK-WALDBERG, Litterarhist. Forschungen III, p. 29.

'He makes a ~ as short as December), *bolts-shoot, childs-part, Cuckows-bill, steersmate* Milton CD), *birth-dayes-minde.*

It has been pointed out that the criterion of uneven stress is not of universal application, since even-stress combinations may just as well be cpp. But, apart from this, its value is lessened by the unfixedness prevailing with regard to the stress of genitival groups. Sweet appears to be too positive when he denotes *lady's-maid* as a cp with first-element stress. I have frequently observed it to be pronounced with equal stress on both parts, nay, by one and the same person it may be pronounced now with even, now with uneven stress. Likewise, NED has been too rash in marking *days'-work* with first-element stress. It may therefore be left an open question whether the following cases, which are given in NED with that stress, should be regarded as cpp: *bird's-nest, cat's-eye,*[1] *cat's-meat, cat's-paw,*[1] *death's-head, hawk's-eye, heart's-blood, name's-day, pig's-wash,* as also *ant's egg, ants' nest, money's-worth, goat's milk, dog's-meat, fool's errand.*

> **Note.** *Calves-foot* is an instance of the rare case when the composition-form differs from that of the simplex. Such are, of course, true cpp.

Again, when the CD invariably gives uneven stress to cpp having some transferred or isolated sense, it appears to be right. Hence it is appropriate to regard as cpp e. g. the numerous group of plant-names, such as *lion's-tooth, devil's-milk, wolf's-claw.*

Besides the vast category of transferred appellations, first-element stress is regularly to be found in a number of cpp, which must be denoted as the most stable of Present English genitive-cpp, viz. those which are written without the apostrophe or hyphen. Again,

[1] i. e. in the literal sense.

of these the bulk consist of such as have *-man* for their second member. Other cases are, firstly, feminine forms of those ending in *-man,* e. g. *kinswoman, bridesmaid, saleslady,* secondly, collective names, such as *townspeople,* thirdly, a great many geographical names, e. g. *Bloomsbury, Kingsway, Queensland,* and lastly, in a number of isolated cases, in some of which usage respecting the use of the apostrophe and the hyphen, is not settled e. g. always without: *beeswax, bridescake* (Annandale), *doomsday, doomsbook, hartshorn, ratsbane, sheepshead,* vacillating: *beeswing, cockscomb, coltsfoot, foolscap, handsbreadth, heartsease, hogsback, hogshead, lambswool, monkshood, swansdown.*

In cpp with — *man* the genitival *s* has become very wide-spread, because of which I will deal with that group somewhat more at length.

In the foregoing instances the *s* is purely genitival, but in the group now under consideration this holds good in a few cases only. And in these it can scarcely now be said to be genitival; it simply originates from an older genitive in *-es.* Such cases are:

kinsman < OE cynnes mann
steersman < OE steóres mann
townsman < OE túnes mann
doomsman < ME domes man
craftsman < ME craftys mon,

the majority of which were originally more or less syntactical (compare 1052 OE Chron. 'heora agenes cynnes mannum'; 1362 Langl. 'Alle kunne craftes man'). But the bulk have got it by analogy.

A consequence of this is that this group cannot be said to form genitival compounds in the proper sense of the term, i. e. such where the first element is felt to be in the genitive case: the s is rather to be put on a par with that in German *Regierungsrat,* that is to say, it is a connecting consonant in the special sense

used in Chapter 2. In the use of connecting s, MnE differs from Modern German and Swedish, in which languages this connective has become very common. In English, it is almost only within the group now under consideration that the s has developed this character.

The function of connecting consonant hardly became fully established till the modern language — still, early instances are found in which it is unmistakeable. Already the OE loanword *lȳps(lits-)mann* is suspected, *erendesmon* (Layamon), *loresman*[1] (14th c.) still more, and in *headsman* (1400), *daysman* (15th c.); *beadsman, deathsman, salysman* (16th c.) there is no doubt about the matter.

The eighteenth century form *dale's man* is no proof that the first element was felt at the time to be a genitive; it was merely a mode of writing occasioned by the analogy with the innumerable combinations taking the apostrophe, or an outcome of the same tendency to analysis as is shown by the editors of NED when explaining e. g. *plantsman* 'f. plants', poss. case of plant'.

Striking instances of the connecting nature of this s in MnE are *daysman, spokesman, oddsman,* and still more *eightsman, thirdsman, oversman.*

Sometimes, however, it allows of double interpretation, in so far as it may he taken to be the plural ending, e. g. *pointsman, sportsman.*

The form with the consonant and the one without it show decided rivalry, which had commenced already in OE, cf *steor(es)mann, land(es)mann.* In ME we have e. g. *craft(es)man, lodesman.*

Different senses are conveyed by the two forms in e. g. OE *túnmann,* 'man living on a manor', *túnesmann*' man belonging to a tún» (Sweet); Early MnE *boatman ~ boatsman;* PrE *headman ~ headsman, land-*

[1] An isolated instance of connecting s, though not belonging here, in *knyghtenspence* 1467 ('some local rate').

man ~ landsman, dayman ~ daysman, lineman ~ linesman, roadman ~ roadsman, shoreman ~ shoresman.

In the course of development the s-less forms, which were originally by far in the majority, have been obliged to surrender one position after the other, according as the connecting nature of the consonant grew established. The contrary development is very rare e. g. *copesman* 1566 > *copeman* 17th c, where the change may be due to influence from Dutch *koopman*, as NED assumes, or to association with the verb *cope*.

In this competition many s-less forms got totally discarded, e. g. OE *hyrdemann,* Early MnE *herdman,* superseded in the first half of the seventeenth century by *herdsman,* a change apparently due to *herd* < OE *hyrde* going out of use, so that the word was referred to *heord* 'flock' (cf the »bad» form *herd's-boy* for *herdboy*). A similar change in the appositional relation between the members must be the cause of the transformation of *bondman* into *bondsman* in the 18th century; but in this case, the earlier form continued beside the new one. Further cases are *bedesman,* arisen in the 16th century for *bedeman* — here the change was facilitated by the first member's having become obsolete —, and *swordsman* < ME *swerdman.*

Sometimes, however, the older form lived on, which resulted in the coexistence of double forms, partly with the same (*draught(s)man, top(s)man, pale(s)man,* etc. etc.), partly with different meaning (see above).

In an immense number of cases the consonant has not managed to get in at all, and within large semological groups only the s-less form is productive in new-formation.

The vacillation between the two forms has undoubtedly something to do with the faded, almost suffixal nature assumed by *-man* in many cases in modern pronunciation. The more marked the suffixal nature is,

the easier it is for the s to come in. Such obscuration is naturally conditional on the combination between the two elements being fixed i. e. on the currency of the expression. An investigation shows, in point of fact, that casual combinations never occur with the s. In such, the second element is unweakened, which prevents the intrusion of the s, which is not productive in that type of *-man*-cpp.

Among casual cpp with *-man* the following groups may, inter alia, be discerned: the cp denotes, (a) one who is temporarily in charge of or connected, somehow or other, with something: *boatman, crateman, pannierman;* (b) one who uses, or is skilled in the use of, an implement or the like: *axman, brake(s)man, canoeman, hammerman, penman* etc. (c) a trader in, or a manufacturer of an article: *aleman, coalman, iceman, milkman, peatman, porkman,* etc. (d) one who is connected with a certain place or tract of a country, building, institution, society, or the like: *Banbury man, hillman, Lowland man, Inns of Court man, Parliament man, Standard Oil man.*

Further groups in which the s does not appear are pleonastic cpp, such as *fisherman, moorman, sailorman,* and cpp with two-syllable words: *clergyman, countryman, harvestman, journeyman, railwayman.*

> **Note.** In this connexion attention may be called to the isolated group of subst. ending in *-by* which are also furnished with connecting s: *wigsby, sneaksby, idlesby, lewdsby, rudesby, suresby,* etc. (according to NED influenced by place-names such as Crosby, Slingsby, Thoresby.).

On comparing the frequency of genitive-cpp on the whole — i. e. including the casual ones — with that of strong cpp, we shall arrive at the result that the former have in certain cases got the better of the latter. This phenomenon is particularly striking when the first ele-

ment consists of a personal appellative. In this case genitival compounding has spread at the expense of strong compounding. This, however, does not apply to poetry and the higher style, but only to normal prose and colloquial style. Here there is an obvious tendency in personal appellatives towards avoiding strong compounding. Cf such examples as:[1]

boys' game	mothers' milk
child's play	the painter's craft
children's books	priests' litanies
citizen's clothes	quakers' meeting
a collector's name (of a plant)	shoemaker's blacking
druggist's shop	thieves' slang
fool's paradise	widow's cap
girls' school	witches' cauldron
the hunter's art	writer's cramp

which might be multiplied without limit. In most instances of strongly compounded personal appellatives, genitive composition can be used beside the other form e. g. *beggar-whine, child-cheek, man-flesh, mother-bosom, pilot-cutter.* In MP 5 May $^{6}/_{5}$, we read 'the *Bishop's Light* on the Scilly Islands', and a few lines below 'the *Bishop Light*', and in the Jungle-Book Kipling puts *man's cub* promiscuously with *man-cub.* Occasionally the two forms have different meanings, e. g. *negro-head,* a kind of tobacco, *negro's-head,* a palm-species.

On the other hand, as regards animal-names, they are equally often found in strong and weak compounding. It is but exceptionally that usage has decided in favour of one form. But it has in, e. g., *horse-hair, dog-flesh,* in *cow's milk, bees' wax, hen's egg,* and in other combinations denoting products of animals. The genitive

[1] Sing. and plur. genitive are, as a rule, used indiscriminately when the sense admits of it, but sometimes the form agrees with that of the second element, cf a *child's prattle,* but *children's prattles.*

is likewise often preferred in denoting parts af animals, as in *calf's-flesh, ass's ear, ass's hoof* (cf NED calf, ass).

The largest category of cpp with animal-names, whose forms are (generally) fixed, consists of cpp with isolation of sense. A few animal-names combine both with and without the genitive (e. g. bird, buck, cat, cuckoo, duck, frog, goat, hare, hart, monkey, snake), but for the most part they prefer one form. As far as I have observed the genitive is preferred in cpp with e. g.: adder, bear, camel, cock, cleer, dragon, fox, lamb, lark, lion, pheasant, sheep, viper; strong composition in e. g. buffalo, eagle, elk, fly, hen, hawk, kangaroo, mole, partridge, peacock, rabbit, serpent, swallow, sow. The two groups are about equally numerous.

B.

Group-compounds.

By the term group-compound I mean such a cp in which the elements are linked together by a special connecting word. The differentiation from ordinary word-groups is, of course, equally precarious here as in weak cpp in general, in so far as the psychological factor, which is decisive for the apprehension of a group as a unit, may vary in individuals. True, many group-cpp have one predominant stress, but since they have that characteristic in common with syntactical groups it cannot be used as a mark here.

As in the case of genitive-cpp, I regard as unified cpp above all such as present some isolation of meaning. This mark of distinction is palpable enough, but of the second group that I distinguish — standard appellations i. e. such as, without having isolation of sense, are sufficiently current to justify the name of cpp — the limits are necessarily vague and subjective. Under no circumstances, however, am I willing to support Sweet when, in spite of his own definition of group-cpp (NEGr. § 440), he bestows the name of compound upon word-groups such as *people of rank, a cup of tea, a pair of gloves* (§ 924).

Very often a word-group may occasionally be felt as a cp, whilst in other connexions it is purely syntactical. Thus, *breach of promise,* in the collocation 'he had once been guilty of breach of promise' will be

felt as a cp by most people, whereas in 'the breach of his promise caused him much remorse' the syntactical character is palpable.[1]

The older periods are hardly to be reckoned with in treating these cpp. Old English does not count at all, since it was not until the French influence began to assert itself that the language acquired the faculty of forming prepositional combinations of this description. Because of lack of sufficient material I am unable to give any statement as to the frequency in ME of real group-cpp, but it would seem that they were few and far between. The innumerable *of*-groups we meet with in e. g. Wicliffe's and Maundeville's writings, we have, as a rule, no right to regard otherwise than as regular syntactical constructions.

It is not till the modern period that we encounter them in greater numbers.

Exactly as numerous genitive-cpp developed out of syntactical groups, a gradually increasing stability may be observed also within this category. So, for instance, combinations with 'in law' were in the Middle Ages free syntactical groups, which is borne out by examples such as 'to *wife in laȝe* he hire nam' (c 1250 Gen. & Ex.), where 'in laȝe' simply means 'lawful', and as late as Early MnE we have records evidencing that the unification had then not yet become established:[2]

[1] The *of*-groups in the expressions: ME 'youre name of trouthe', MnE 'my everlasting doom of banishment', 'my sense of joy' may very well be cpp, but not for morphological reasons, as EINENKEL contends — Paul's Grundr. I p. 1088 —, for the pronoun need not necessarily be referred to the second element. As to Ben Jonson's 'More than ten criers and six noise of trumpets' it is probably a solecism due to attraction to the preceding 'ten criers'.

[2] It is true the definition of cpp adopted in this treatise does not preclude that the elements may be separable, but since in the present cases the order of the elements is fixed in MnE, we are justified in considering instances with order unfixed as a proof of the above contention.

Ageyn Pompeius, *fader thyn in lawe* (Chaucer B 3870) *moder of law* 1538, *fader in the lawe* 1552 Latimer, *niece-in-law* 'the wife of one's nephew' 1556 Cranmer, and Shakespeare has 'Their *Aunt* I am *in law*, in loue their Mother'.

Another case in point is *commander-in-chief*, which in the seventeenth century, from whence the first instance is recorded, cannot have been conceived as a cp, because 'in chief' was at that time a detached phrase, which could be put as an adjunct to any substantive; cf the 17th c instances: *friend-in-chief, army-in-chief, virtuoso then in chief.* Also in latter-day literature the phrase 'in chief' occurs in casual combinations (e. g. 1866 *sympathizers-in-chief;* 1911 Daily News June 13, *advisers-in-chief*), but as it cannot now be separated from the word it qualifies, we look upon such expressions as cpp.

Of cpp belonging here there are, within the compass of this treatise, two principal types: in the first place such where the elements are attached to each other through the medium of a preposition — chiefly *of (a, o')* — in the second place, such where the connecting link is *and.* Of these, the latter type is the most sparingly represented.

I include such prepositional cpp whose second element is preceded by an article. The accession thereof need not have any influence on the character of the combination: *liberty of the press* may be conceived as a cp exactly as much, or as little, as *liberty of faith,* the only difference being that English syntax requires the article in the one case, but not in the other. Yet there are cases when its absence or presence makes a decided difference, thus, (at this) *time of year* is a cp to my linguistic feeling, whereas the accession of the definite article necessarily dissolves it into a syntactical group.

Before passing on to Present English I record a few Early MnE instances:

apprentice at law, cloth a gold, course-a-park 'name of a country-gamé', innes a court, men a warr, man-in-arms, Iak of the hedge, Jack of all Trades, Iacke of the Boxe, John-a-Nokes (at Noke, of the Noke, orig. atten Oke), John-a-dreams, John-a-Stiles (at Stile, of the Stile, orig. atte Stile), Peter in roach for roche petre (CD 1692), will with the wisp.

Present-English examples:

Cpp with isolation of sense.

coat-of-arms	mother-of-amethyst etc.
lily-of-the-valley	queen-of-the-prairie
man-of-war	rule-of-thumb [1]
marvel of Peru (plant)	star-of-Berthlehem (plant)
mother-of-pearl	star-of-night (tree)
catamountain (cat o' m.)	John-o'-Groats
cat-o'-nine-talls	light-o'-love
cock-a-hoop [2]	rose-a-ruby (plant)
Jack-a-lent (-o'-)	tam o' shanter
Jack-a-lantern (-o'-)	Tom o' Bedlam
John-a-dreams	will-o'-the-wisp
John-a-nods	
devil-in-a-bush (plant)	love-in-idleness
dog-in-a-blanket ('a jam pudding')	love-in-a-mist
	love-in-a-puzzle
Jack-in-the-box	sop(s)-in-wine
Jack-in-the-green	
cows-and-calves } plants	eggs-and-butter } plants
cup-and-saucer	fingers-and-thumbs
eggs-and-bacon	lords-and-ladies

[1] 'a roughly practical method' NED.

[2] in the phrase 'to be ~' = in a state of elation. Older forms: -on-, -in-.

cross-and-jostle [1]	hare-and-hounds
cup-and-ball [2]	knurr-and-spell [4]
cup-and-cone [3]	lime-and-hair [5]
(to play at) ducks-and-drakes	milk-and-water [6]
	Punch and Judy

Here belong, further, the following expressions: *cock-and-bull* story, civic *pepper-and-salt* frock (Carlyle, [7] French. Revol, 2,4). our *lath-and-gum* Holiness . . mounts up in flames (ibid. 2,6).

Standard appellations:

age of gold	horn of plenty
beast of burden	justice of the peace
bill-of-fare	minister of war
bird of paradise	note of hand
Board of Trade	plaster of Paris
the Books of Kings	point of view
centre of gravity	right-of-way (see NED)
Court of justice	rule-of-three
the fleece of gold	sleight of hand
frame of mind	strength of will
head of hair	ticket-of-leave
House of Commons	work of art

castle in the air	lady-in-waiting
chaplain-in-ordinary	Puss-in-boots
commissioner-in-lunacy	son-in-law
commander-in-chief	stock-in-bank
companion-in-arms	stock-in-trade

Priest-in-Ordinary-in-Waiting (MP March 13)

[1] 'a kind of race'.
[2] 'bilboquet'.
[3] 'mining-term'.
[4] 'a north-country game'.
[5] 'a kind of plasterer's cement'.
[6] 'feeble or insipid discourse'.
[7] Everyman's Library.

assault at arms	man-at-arms
barrister-at-law	passage at (of-) arms
King-at-arms (-of-)	serjeant-at-arms
Newcastle-on-Tyne,	Stratford-on-Avon, etc.
brandy-and-water	gin-and-bitters
bread-and-butter	knife-and-fork [2]
cider-and [1]	pen-and-ink,
flesh and blood	

Further, *cat-and-dog* life, ~ opponent (1822), ~ absurdities (Trollope); *knife-and-fork* question, ~ breakfast; *pen-and-ink* gentleman, ~ outline.

There is one circumstance to be noticed concerning *of*-compounds, viz. that a great many of them can be expressed by strong composition as well. [3] But by no means all. One well-defined group that is constant in form is the one just now referred to: cpp with isolation of sense, and »standard appellations» are very often uninterchangeable, too. The majority of the ex. recorded above are of that nature.

Earle had evidently not considered this when he wrote what follows (Philology p. 562): »the first order (strong cpp) is homely, idiomatic and familiar; and is put aside for the third (group-cpp) when dignity is aimed at.» This statement has been worded too generally, for

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[1] a similar colloquial abbreviation is *cold-without* 'brandy or spirits in cold water without sugar'.

[2] 'after playing a good ~; 'I am but a poor ~ at any time' (Dickens).

[3] The one form has historically succeded the other in e. g. † *tree of fruit,* now obsolete for *fruit-tree,* † *table of multiplication* > *multiplication-table.* The contrary procedure occurs too, e. g. † *eye-apple* > *apple of the eye,* † *justice-court* > *court of justice* † *paradise-bird* > *bird of paradise* (cf paradise-fish, -tree, -apple, which are quite modern); for *House of Commons* could earlier be said *Commons House.*

it cannot be true, of course, in other cases than those in which both constructions are interchangeable; but even with that restriction the rule has not unlimited validity. Take, for instance, *man of business,* is this form more »dignified» than *business-man? form-history* less so than *history of forms?*

The variation is either such that strong and weak forms are facultative *(fall of night, day of judgment, bichloride of tin)* or such that either the strong form *(bank of deposit)* or the weak one (*Eaters-of-grass,* Kipl. Leeb-Lundb. p. 41, *races of horse,* Quiller-Couch, Sir J. Const. Ch. 6), is of little or no currency. Sometimes one form conveys a more or less different sense. *Viewpoint,* for instance, has in England hardly any other sense than 'point of observation'. But in American English it has also, as Earle has pointed out, the sense of 'point of view'.

> **Note.** Irrelevant is such a case as the following: 'An acquaintance of mine . . had a remarkably fine *tree of apples* — and one night was robbed of the whole of them', (Quiller-Couch, Sir J. Constantine, preface), likewise *cases of books* (ibid. Ch. 1). Here we are, of course, concerned with the partitive genitive. Cf ME Orm *waterrdrinnch,* drink of water.

I will close this chapter, too cursorily treated because of lack of sufficient material, by commenting on some cpp which offer particular interest. MnE *head of hair* means 'the covering or growth of hair on the head». This cp in the 16th c ousted the earlier strong form, e. g. Aelfric's *heafodhær,* Trevisa's *hed-her.* The reason why, in the weak form, 'hair' did not remain the principal element must be that 'head' was not conceived in its usual sense. NED states about the simplex 'head' that it is used »in reference to, and hence denoting, the hair on the head» (head 4); thus, the 'of hair' may be understood as an explanatory addition to avoid ambiguity.

A similar expression is *head of horns* = head 'the antlers of a deer' (NED head 6).

The same explanation probably holds good with regard to the cp *hand-of-write* (according to NED specifically Scotch, but found also in Kipling, cf Puck of Pook's Hill: 'Hugh hast thou ever told my Gilbert thou canst read Latin hand-of-write? Leeb-Lundb. p. 42). This curious by-form to *hand-write* (< Sc. *handwritt* < OE *handgewrit*) becomes intelligible only by assuming the simplex 'hand' in the sense of 'handwriting' to be primary. The reverse order between the elements: *write-of-hand*, the one to be expected (cf *note of hand*), is given by CD (from Mrs Gaskell) in the senses of 'handwriting' and 'the art of writing', but it is denoted as vulgar.

General remark on the orthographic form of cpp.

I am alluding to the use of the hyphen and the running together and separation of the elements.

Concerning this matter no rules are to be traced either in ancient or in modern periods. With regard to Old English I quote W. KELLER, Angelsächsische Palæographie (Palæstra XLIII) p. 51: No consistency must be expected, but in careful MSS a certain principle is discernible. »Man scheidet nach Accentgruppen: tieftonige Wörter werden mit dem Träger des Hochtons zusammengeschrieben, Wörter mit zwei starken Accenten schreibt man getrennt ... Aber nur wenige dieser Regeln sind konsequent durchgeführt ... Dagegen trennt man regelmässig Composita, deren zweiter Teil auch einen starken Ton hat: *biscep hade, reccend dome, scom leas, lic homan* (aber *licuman* mit unbetonter Mittelsilbe),

ryht wisnesse usw. Dasselbe gilt auch von Eigennamen wie *Hroð gar, Beo wulf.*»

The hyphen is unknown in OE manuscripts, but it appears in Early ME, e. g. c 1205 *fur-burondi* (NED), though also in ME it is consistently omitted in many manuscripts. Thus, I have found none in 'Specimens of all the unprinted MSS of the Canterbury Tales' (published by the Chaucer Society). And joining and separation vary irregularly, cf ibid. *mankynde ~ man kynde, manslaughter, shuldre bone, ffish strete ~ ffysshstrete.*

In the original Shakespeare edition of 1623 there occur — as far as I have been able to ascertain — no cpp with the elements free, and of the hyphen an excessive use is made *(be-spice, with-draw, young-ling, countrey-man).* In Dr. Johnson's dictionary cpp of a rather unusual character are frequently joined *(horsecucumber, ploughmonday),* whereas most common ones are hyphened *(honey-comb, honey-moon, hedge-hog).*

In MnE, usage is extremely vacillating. One and the same word is written by one author with the members joined, by a second with the hyphen, by a third with the elements free; and it is no uncommon occurrence that one author makes use now of one mode of writing, now of another, nay, it even happens that two (or all three) writings of one word may be found within the space of one page. However, certain tendencies are discernible. 1) The elements are joined or, at least, connected by the hyphen when there is first-element stress (see above p. 109). Hence, the elements are nearly always joined or hyphened in cpp with isolation of sense and in cpp of great currency. Hyphening further occurs 2) when a cp or a syntactical group is put as first element in a compound: *bird's-eye view, ten-pound note, pen-and-ink* gentleman.

3) free are the elements, as a rule, in cpp with

even stress:[1] *gold pen, Edinburgh Review, pearl necklace, Old Age Pensions Scheme.*

As it may be taken for granted that the use of the hyphen and the joining of elements is to a considerable degree connected with the writer's sense of the laxity or rigidity of compounds, and as our linguistic instinct tells us that even-stress cpp are decidedly laxer than those with accentual attraction, it is quite natural that this kind of cpp should be written with its elements free.

Note 1. It is very unusual that in newly coined cpp, or in such as are of small currency the members are run together. Hence, it may be denoted as a kind of artistic mannerism when Tennyson, in the poems of his youth, regularly joins the elements. Cf Dyboski in Baust. p. 240: *thunderfit, seasmell, brookbank, cavernthroat, cedarshadowy, fountainpregnant, goldensandalled.* Later, he consistently employed the hyphen.

Note 2. An American, Mr. F. Horace Teall, in 1891 (New York) issued a work entitled 'The composition of English words, when and why joining and separation is preferable', in which he undertakes to lay down rules. The author's good intention — to try to get some order into the prevailing irregular and chaotic state of things — is counterbalanced by the pretentious and self-sufficient note of his criticism and proposals, and scientifically the book has no importance. The same applies to the author's second work 'English compound words and phrases'.

[1] cpp with material nouns were formerly often hyphened: 1590 *copper-wyre,* 1790 ~ *-farthing,* 1592 *cloth-breeches,* 1631 ~ *cloake.*

II. Meaning of Compounds.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

Relation between the elements.

Before entering on this subject I beg to emphasize one thing, which would seem to be self-evident, but which, nevertheless, is often not observed in the literature on grammar, namely, that, in treating of the question of the relation between the elements, the logical and semological relations must be carefully distinguished, the former term being sometimes used also in the sense of the latter (e. g. by Sweet and Wundt).

If apprehended in its usual sense the term can, of course, only have reference to the relation between the ideas, as determined by the laws of thought, and the only relation to be thought of in this connexion is the coordination or subordination conditioned by their logical range. A consequence of this is that it is but in some cases that logical relation exists between the elements, e. g. in 'oaktree', whereas in 'spirit-lamp' such a relation is out of the question on account of the absence of a relation-ground.

The ancient grammarians, when classifying compounds, did not take the idea of subordination in its strictly logical sense, but substituted another concept — that of determination (sometimes employed in the same sense also by present-day grammarians, e. g. by K. F.

JOHANSSON in his paper on nominal cpp in Gothic):[1] that element which determined or qualified the other was the subordinated one. For that reason they placed in the category of coordinated cpp exclusively such as did not present any determination, i. e. copulative cpp.

The term coordinated cp is, however, employed by later grammarians in a much wider sense. TOBLER, for instance, has under this heading cpp belonging to the status identitatis, and WILMANNs (II 536) regards as coordinated the status definitivus (e. g. Eichbaum), nay, even similativus (e. g. Goldkäfer). The concept of co- and subordination is, then, a rather vague one, and as, besides that, this division is very immaterial, I here entirely abstain from using it.

The task I have set before myself in this chapter is to make an attempt at classifying English cpp from the point of view of the semological relation between the elements. Hence, the question as to the psychological origin of cpp, which is in itself interesting enough, is irrelevant here, and if, now and then, I have paid attention to it, that is owing to the fact that the semological relation can very often not be decided without considering the psychological process.

Authors express different opinions as to the possibility of such a classification.

WUNDT, true, does not deny the possibility of carrying it through, but thinks that the matter is »von geringem Werthe» (Völkerps. I: 1, p. 611). BRUGMANN touches on the question in a note, where after denouncing the excessive logical schematizing he says: «Namentlich ist oft verkannt worden, dass das in der Seele der Sprechenden lebende Bedeutungsbild, das der Sprachforscher zu reproducieren hat, bei den meisten Compositis in Hinsicht auf die gegenseitige Bezeichung der

[1] Nordiska Studier, Upsala 1904.

beiden Glieder ein viel zu unbestimmtes und schwankendes war, als dass es sich mit der Sicherheit, wie es geschieht, dieser oder jener von den zahlreichen aufgestellten Bedeutungsclassen zuweisen liesse.» (Grundr. d. vergl. Gram. 1889, II: 83). WILMANN's declares apodictically that «die Composition drückt immer nur die Verbindung im allgemeinen aus».

SWEET (§ 1558), in my opinion, has hit the mark in stating that in many cases the relation may be defined »with certainty and accuracy», while in others it is less definite. He even goes to the length of upholding that «it must be borne in mind that this very vagueness is the chief reason why composition is resorted to».

It is a striking fact that in a great many, perhaps the majority of, cases we are at a loss to give an accurate definition of the semological relation between the members, to say nothing of those in which there cannot be said to exist any such relation at all.

Examples of the absence of sense-relation are presented, in the first place, by a host of compound names in which the juxtaposition of the elements is wholly conventional, even artificial; in the second place, by what is termed by Tobler «verstärkende Zusammensetzungen» (op. cit. Anhang). In these the first element is not associated with the concept denoted by it when simple or occurring in other cpp, the signification having faded so as merely to intensity the meaning of the second element, which, of course, does not preclude the cpp from being individually apprehended in their literal sense. As appears from Tobler's list of examples, in German it is principally adjectives that are thus intensified. The same applies to English. In MnE I have not noticed a single case of substantival composition where it might be suspected that the sense of the first member has faded in this way. As regards Old English, the following are, in my opinion, cases in point: cpp with *þeod*, such as

þeod.scaþa, -wundor, -licettere; with *woruld,* e. g. *-sceamu, -strudere, -strengo; regen-þeof, -weard; éad-lufe* (*ead* = 'bliss'). And in ME we find *world-scome* (Layamon 8323).

Further instances are to be found in plenty in poetry, old as well as modern, the elements being often arbitrarily brought together for metrical-euphonical reasons.

Here belong also popular etymologies, e. g. *bridegroom* < OE brýdguma, *charterhouse* < AF chartrouse. *crayfish* < F écrevisse, *curtal-axe* < cutlass, *gillyflower* < F girofle, *herbgrass* < herb (of) grass, *liveli-hood* < OE líflád, *ox-vomit* < nux vomica, *penthouse* < F pentice (appendix), *rope-band* < roband, *sparrow-grass* < asparagus, *stavesacre* < L (Delphinium) Staphisagria (Annandale), *wormwood* < OE weremód.

In yet another type of cpp the relation cannot be ascertained except by a closer investigation. Take, for instance, the cp *horsethistle.* Unless we have specially investigated the matter we cannot possibly know what 'thistle' has to do with 'horse', whether the horse likes it or shuns it, whether some drug or drink for horses is prepared from it, whether anything in its appearance is suggestive of a horse, etc. etc. In numerous cpp the original «Bedeutungsbild» is lost for ever (OE kenningar).

It is not unusual that, even when a certain relation exists between the elements, it cannot be ascertained more closely than that one element defines the other; in others the possible interpretations can, at best, be brought down to a few alternatives. For instance, *roof-beam* can be analyzed either as status finis, or as partitivus, or as principatus, or as functionis (see below).

I will here, in passing, raise an objection to Wundt's theory about the origin of cpp. He contends rightly that a cp is the outcome of a process of condensation

from a mental image *(Gesammtvorstellung),* a short way of expressing an idea. But he has taken too general a view of the subject when he makes us believe that cpp on the whole have the character of condensed mental images. Is is certainly true that a great number of cpp must be thought to have originated that way, but in an equally immense number of cases this explanation does not hold good, on account of the greater or lesser vagueness of the meaning. If a certain cp is to be traced back to some «Gesammtvorstellung» or «Bedeutungsbild», the semological relation between the elements must be clear. If it is not — if to our linguistic instinct the relation is unsettled or the image impressed on our minds is dim —, it cannot be maintained that the substratum of the cp is a certain mental image (save in those cases when the original relation has become lost). If the image is clear the meaning of the precipitate must be clear.

In a foregoing chapter we paid some attention to abbreviated cpp, such as *fire-office* for *fire-insurance office.* In the light of the Wundt theory above referred to, this phenomenon presents nothing surprising or exceptional. It may rather be laid down as the rule, that is to say in such cpp as can be traced back to a mental image. For these being concentrated images, they must all of them be more or less abbreviated, just as simple words are often the expression of one single feature or side of the conception they represent.

If a cp were to express adequately the mental image from which it is derived, it ought to comprise all the ideas, all the elements of which the image is made up. And, in point of fact, English cpp often do. It has been pointed out previously that many-linked cpp are very common in English. Now, in resorting to a many-linked cp you take much more pains to make clear what you mean than if you pick out two words to re-

present the whole; for instance, in referring to Mr. Chamberlain's *food-policy* you use a lame, unsuggestive expression, but if you say Mr. C:s *taxes-on-the-food-of-the-poor-policy* your hearers will get a vivid illustration of what you think of it.

Now, this mode of expression would be extremely unwieldy and impracticable if applied consistently, and there would be no advantage in resorting to composition. The chief merit of cpp words is that they form a convenient way of expressing syntactical relations tersely and lucidly at the same time. Hence, it is the very nature of composition to leave part of the image unexpressed. Moreover, it does not admit of the whole range of ideas contained in the image appearing in the cp state. Thus, as far as substantival cpp are concerned, prepositions and other connectives which express the different shades of relation between two members in the syntactical state must needs be left out, the same being true of verb-forms. For instance, in *sea-sickness* 'sickness caused by the motion of the sea' neither 'by' nor 'caused' could be included in the compound.

A good illustration of the convenience of having a short expression to put in the place of a lengthy description is afforded by the American word *pocket-veto,* which is explained thus by Bryce, Amer. Commonw.: «If Congress adjourns within the ten days allowed the President for returning the bill, it is lost. His retaining it under these circumstances to the end of the session is popularly called a 'pocket-veto'.» Such concentration becomes a necessity if repeated reference must be made to it, and in newspaper headings where the point is to sum up in the tersest manner possible the contents of an article, this reason for the coining of cpp is frequently palpable.

Turning to that group in which the semological relation can be defined, if we are to make any attempt

at all at classifying the enormous material, we must distinguish two groups. As typical examples we may select *churchwarden* and *day-clock*. In both of these the signification is clear, the latter meaning 'a clock which requires to be wound up daily' (NED), but still there is a decided difference between them: *churchwarden* belongs to a large semological category, that of the objective relation, whereas *day-clock* stands by itself. Although perfectly clear and definite in meaning, *day-clock* has no relatives; there cannot be distilled out of it any general sense-relation. Such cpp abound. I give some more instances: *dog-horse* 'a worn-out horse, fit only to be made into dog's meat', *bridle-path, clothes-swimming,* a *part-time girl* 'a girl engaged only for part of her time', *call-loan* 'a loan to be repaid at call', *chair-days* 'old age, when rest in a chair is the most natural condition' (Sh.), *penny-father* (15—16th c) ,a man who is too careful of his pence; an old miser', OE *hréac-mete* 'food given labourers on completing a rick', *stigol-hamm* 'enclosure reached by a stile', etc., etc.

We have thus arrived at the following classification:

1. such cpp in which the relation can be accurately defined;
   a. the relation can be referred to a general category;
   b. the relation cannot be referred to a general category on account of the specialized sense;
2. such cpp in which the relation is more or less vague.

It stands to reason that this classification is a rough one and that the limits are anything but fixed.

The only group that can be made the object of further treatment is, of course, 1. a.

The only grammarian to my knowledge who has attempted a detailed classification of compounds from

a purely semological point of view is Prof. Noreen.[1] In Vårt Språk, V, p. 190 foll. he gives a plentifully exemplified survey of the chief relations in which he finds that ideas in general can stand to each other, and he there allows compounds their fair place in the material under consideration. In what follows I have tried to employ his classification on English speech-material, and have also adopted his terminology.

Noreen's system is certainly clever and unique, but his exemplification of the different «status» invites some comment. As has been emphasized previously, the relation between the members of a cp cannot always be assigned to a specified category: it allows of being conceived in more than one way. Noreen does not make sufficient allowance for this fact, as a rule bluntly stating the cases to belong under one or other particular heading. For instance, the cp *nattkyla* (cold of night) need not necessarily be apprehended as an instance of the status praebentis. Why not classify it as a temporal inessive? Likewise, in *examensläsning* (examination reading) the first element does not necessarily represent the aim of the second; it may just as well be said to express the (real or possible) result of the second. And in the case of *människosläkte* (mankind), the status materiæ is equally justifiable as the definitivus. It should therefore be understood that in exemplifying the various status I simply say that to my linguistic feeling the examples given can be apprehended in the way indicated by the heading.

In an historical treatise like the present one there ought to be for each status an estimate as to the relative frequency in the different periods. But I have had

[1] Mätzner has not wholly got rid of the morphological element in his treatment of the question (Gr. I, 469 foll.), but makes decided efforts to lay down sense-categories; those suggested are, however, very few, and some of them highly controversial.

to refrain from this, principally on account of the uncertainty of the status-relations, which renders the value of any statistical estimate dubious, but also because of the immense material it would require.

Out of the number of status set up by Noreen, of course, only those are included which have some bearing on cp words. In one case two status have been unified, and, here and there, a few new ones have been made.

Status copulativus

we may term the sense-relation in a type of cpp which — wide-spread and important as it was in ancient languages — does not require many words when we are dealing with English. The extremely scanty number of examples to be found in extant OE literature proves that copulative compounding, which may still have been rife in prehistoric English or Teutonic, and of which the examples recorded may be regarded as some late specimens, was not in OE a factor of word-formation to be reckoned with. According to STORCH[1] the cases which have come down to us are the following: in the poetry, *suhtorgefæderan* and *áðumswerian,* in the prose, the people-names *Weder-géatas* and, perhaps, *Hréð-gotan. (Angulseaxan* is not an English coinage, since it first occurs in the Latin form *Anglisaxones.)*

Concerning *werewulf* and *wæpenwifestre* it depends upon taste whether they should be classified as copulatives or as appositional cpp (st. interferentiæ). Similar are MnE *hart-wolf* 'a fabulous animal, a hybrid between deer and wolf', *wolf-dog, lion-tiger cub;* further the heraldic beasts *lion-dragon* and *lion-poisson,* the fore part of which was like a lion and the hind part suggestive of a dragon(fish).

A great many other modern cpp may be conceived

[1] Angelsächs. Nominalcomp.

as copulative, yet at the same time allow of being interpreted in other ways. The only instances I have noticed which obviously possess copulative character are: *silver-lead* 'silver in combination with lead, esp. in form of ore', *copper-zinc,* used attributively, and meaning 'of copper and zinc', *board-residence,* sometimes written for *board and residence;* further instances are presented by the first elements of cpp such as the *Hay-Pauncefote Treaty,* the *ton-mile cost* of ocean carriage (TW 1911 ·53/2), and by country-names of the type *Alsace-Lorraine, Austria-Hungary.* According to the definition given in the NED of *hammer-ax* ('a tool consisting of a hammer and ax combined') it ought to be put down as as a copulative, but the cp may as well be understood as 'an ax furnished with a hammer'. *Ice-water* will by most people be apprehended as 'water cooled by or containing ice', albeit the sense 'ice and water' is not quite out of the question.

Status essivi.

Acc. el.[1] qualifies chief el.[1] as to position in space or time.

1. *Inessivus:* acc. el. denotes position of chief el.

a) local: MnE *country-life, garden-house, heartsease, grasshopper, headache, Kensington Gardens, lily-of-the-valley, mountain-air, schoolwork, water-spider;* ME *hedher, medowe floures, neose-þurle, sea-þistle, þrote-bolle, water-cresse;* OE *benc-swég, beorg-seþel, éar-coþu, héð-stapa, heafod-hér, helle-déofol, milt-wærc.*

Inverted local inessive is present in e. g. *pigeon-tower, plague-house, noes-lobby, sale-room.*

b) temporal: MnE *afternoon tea, Christmas holidays, day-dream, night-owl, summer-trip, the 1848 revolution, a 19th century man, silly-season correspondent;* ME *mete-*

[1] = (the object of) accessory resp. chief element.

graces, morwe-spæche, nihtegale, under-mel; OE *ðefendréam, dæg-candel, niht-slæp, nón-sang, uht-sang.*

Inverted temporal inessive have e. g. *ice-age, music-night, play-season;* ME *messe-quyle, harvest-cesoun;* OE *dóm-dæg.*

2. *Interessivus:* acc. el. denotes the limits between which chief el. extends. Here belong modern formations of the type *London—Paris flight;* also such as *day-to-day requirements* (TW 1911 $^{63}/_{1}$).

3. *Adessivus:* acc. el. denotes the vicinity of chief el.: MnE *castle park, coast ice, eye-wrinkle, ocean-port, an Oxford-Street store, wall-clock, window-seat;* ME *sæ-strond, waghe-rift, wang-toth;* OE *brim-faroþ, ciric-tún, eaxl-gestealla, gærstún-díc, geat-torr, sǽ-ceaster.*

4. *Circumessivus:* acc. el. is surrounded by chief el.: MnE *barrel-hoop, finger-ring, garden-wall, hat-band, necklace, waist-belt, wrist-ring;* ME *gardin wal, necker-cheue;* OE *æcer-hege, burg-weall, earm-béag, heals-mene, scanc-gegierela.*

5. *Supraessivus:* chief el. occupies a higher position than acc. el.: MnE *eye-brow, grave-mound, pile-bridge, pillar-saint, ridge-turret, steeple weather-cock, table-cloth, tomb-stone;* OE *bedd cláþ, geofon-hús, holm-ærn.*

6. *Subessivus:* the reverse of the preceding state: Mn E *arm-pit, earth-cave, eye-tooth, flooring-joist, glass-culture, heather-roof, roof-storey;* OE *benc-þel, eorþ-ærn, gærs-bedd, grund-sele.*

Status lativi:

acc. el. qualifies chief el. with regard to direction of the object denoted by it:

1. *Ablativus:* acc. el. denotes the starting-point of chief el.: MnE *eavesdrop, eye-sparkle, godsend, gutter-spout, head-water* 'the streams from the sources of a river', *jail-delivery, landbreeze, nose-bleeding, platform speaking, sea-voice* (Baust. 203), *stem-leaf, thunder-bolt;*

ME *heorte blod, hevene dew;* OE *clif-hlíep, eard-giefu, heofon-hléf, sealt-bróc* 'brook running from salt-works'.

2. *Allativus:* acc. el. expresses the aim to which chief el. tends or the end of the action performed by it: MnE *churchgoer, garret-stairs, heaven-bridge, North-Pole expedition, side-glance;* ME *mulnewey, chirch-gang;* OE *ciric-pæð, eodor-gang, húsl-gang, medu-stig, róde-hengenn.*

3. *Prolativus:* acc. el. through its extent fixes the direction of chief el.: MnE *coast-line, -road, path-racer, rope-dancer, wayfarer;* OE *ráp-genga, weall-þréd, hrycg-weg* 'a road running along a ridge'.

Status spatii:

acc. el. denotes the extent in space or time of chief el.

1. *Mensuræ:* acc. el. qualifies chief el. with ref. to measure, weight, or number: MnE *feather-weight, finger-length, hands-breadth, lip-depths* (Baust. 201: «Love lieth deep, Love dwells not in ~.»), *ell-measure, seven-mile boots, three-storey-house;* ME *elle-wand, eln-ȝerde, her-mele. handis brede;* OE *fæþm-rím* 'cubit-measure', *pund-wæg, scilling-rím.*

2. *Intervalli:* acc. el. qualifies chief el. as to the interval of time filled by it. MnE *day-fly* 'an insect .. which .. lives only a few hours or at most a few days', *day-lily* 'a lily, the flower of which lasts only for a day', *day-bill* (Byron, A single ~ of modern dinners), *day-sum* (Mrs. Browning, Thy ~ of delight), *life-annuity, -work, minute space, months-man* 'a man employed .. for one month's labour during harvest'; ME *lif-wile:* OE *bearhtm-hwil, dæg-fæsten, -feorm, gear-cýning, -gemearc, mónaþ-bót.* Modern instances are rare, here as well as in the foregoing state, though not to such a large extent, owing to the prevalent usage pf expressing these sense-relations by genitival construction (an hour's walk, a ship's length, etc.). In ME and Early MnE, this question is bound up with that of the unmarked genitive; see above pp. 106, 108—109.

The distributive sense in OE epp such as *gėar-geriht* and *mónaþ ádl* is found also in MnE cpp (e. g. *day-wages, minute-bell* 'the tolling of a bell at intervals of a minute'), but is for the most part rendered by adjectives.

3. *Pretii:* acc. el. qualifies chief el. with ref. to the material value of the object denoted by it. Very common in MnE, e. g. *farthing-candle, penny-piece, -stamp, ten-pound note, six-shilling novel;* ME *ferþing wastel, -loff.*

As a fourth status spatii I suggest

4. *Limitis,* i. e. acc. el. denotes the limit to which chief el. extends, e. g. *knee-breeches, -apron, elbow-sleeves, root-fallacy;* OE *þeoh-seax.* Not common.

Status coexistentiæ:

coexistence or non-coexistence in space or time between the elem.

Out of the different cases given by Noreen under this heading we are here concerned with two only, viz. that special case of

1. *Sociativus* which he terms status *attributivus:* acc. el. forms a characteristic «attribute» or adjunct to chief el. Most common in all periods. MnE *arm-chair, candlemass, dragon-ship, dress-circle, mountain region, newspaper boy, serjeant-at-arms, will-o'-the-wisp; the Bowe-boye* (Cupid, Shaks.); ME *hauyn-toun, lyme-ȝerde, teȝ-doggue, shel-fish, raggeman, scild-trume;* OE *bedd-búr. dún-land, eardung-burg* 'city of tabernacles', *gærs-ierþ, gár-dene, hilte-cumbor, horn-sele, hring-naca.*

A special case of this status is that when the adjunct denotes something contained in the chief el. e. g. MnE *air-bladder, business-letter, honours list, lead ore, salts-bottle, poison fang;* ME *clei-pit, mele-sek, oyl-fat;* OE *ćew-bóc, sand-sėaþ, wyrt-box.*

2. *Principatus,* which is the reverse of the preceding state: acc. el. holds the »principate» in the mutual relation between the two objects. Very common.

MnE *bedroom window, brookbank* (Baust. 240), *chapter-heading, coffin-lid, gibbet-chain, house-eaves, lamp-globe, mill-pond, painter's brush, the Schlosskirche weathercock, tower-ball, way side;* ME *brech-gerdel, chirche hawe, gaytt berde, hors harnes, paleys gardyn;* OE *bytte-hlid, stréam-stæþ, tægl-hér, tempel-geat, tún-préost, þeoh-hweorfa* 'knee-joint', *wége-tunge.*

Status partitivus:

acc. el. denotes the whole of which chief el. forms a part. The number of cpp in which this interpretation is possible is immense, e. g. MnE *bow-string, dove-tail, eye-lid, flower-stalk, mutton chop, nutshell, oar-blade, nose-end, pine-bough;* ME *laurial leves, leddre stalen* (ladder pegs), *lylie-rote, plough-shares;* OE *æger-geolu, ár-blæd, byden-botm, cawel-stela, daroþ-sceaft, sé-earm.*

Status classificationis:

one element falls, totally or partially, within the range of the other.

1. *Identitatis:* the objects of the two elements identical, the elements themselves being synonyms.

This state is made up of *tautological*[1] compounds, which — on account of their character of solecisms and of the circumstance that they seem to have been hitherto comparatively little noticed by Anglists — I here propose to make the subject of a somewhat closer investigation.

[1] *Iterative* subst. cpp, i. e. such in which both members are identical, do not exist in English, save in children's language, or, at most, are only seemingly so, e. g. *water-water* (Wright, Dial. D.), whose first member has the sense of 'river'.

In a tautological cp the elements are synonymous. Hence, Wilmanns makes a mistake when in the register of OHG tautological cpp given in his Gram. I 399,2 he mentions *gom-man*. In this word the constituents are not synonymous or, at any rate, need not be so, since in German *man* can have the neutral sense of 'person' without giving prominence to the special sense of 'male' (cf Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch). In OE, where this sense is the prevailing one, the corresponding cp *gum-mann*, as well as *carl-mann*, can still less be considered as tautological. KOEPPEL, in his paper on 'Tautological compounds of the English language' in 'an English miscellany, presented to Dr. Furnivall', Oxford 1901, enters *ortgeard* in his list of OE instances, which is the more surprising as he emphasizes (p. 203) that in tautological cpp «the two elements are perfectly identical in meaning», and distinguishes from their category *mór-berige* — existence doubtful; NED gives no instance earlier than the 14th century — and like combinations, where the second element has «a wider more comprehensive» sense. Such cases belong under the status definitivus.

Another group of cpp which are not tautological in the strict sense of the word are those in which the one element, without being synonymous with the other, yet serves to elucidate the other, e. g. OE *dǽd-bana. earm-slíefe, slege-bíetel, rǽdwita, wǽd-bréc* 'trousers' (wǽd = dress, clothes), *wæter-ýð;* ME *metal-oor* (c 1380 Wyclif), *salt-saler* (1434); MnE Shakesp. *day-dawn, fellow-partner, milk-pap, ox-beef; clergie-priest* (c 1589), *hand-wrist* (1650 Cromwell; OE *hond uyrst;* MnE dial.), *fellow-companion* (16—17th c), ~ *compatriot* (1858 Hawthorne), *Law Sollicitor* (1738), *fire-stove* (1756), *forge-smith* (1886), *corpse-coffin* (Tennyson, Baust. 205), *sea-voyage* (Quiller-Couch, Sir J. Const.), *play-actress, love-philtre, salt-cellar.*

True tautological cpp are rare in ME and compara-

tively so in MnE, but in OE there is no limit to them. Koeppel's extraordinarily incomplete list includes but five[1] certain cases: *mægen-cræft, ~ strengo, holt-wudu, racentéag, word-cwide.* It is astonishing that, in reading OE poetry, e. g. Beówulf, he should not have been struck by the tautological cpp occurring on nearly every page. Synonyms for war, treasure, sea, sword, etc., of which the old poems possessed such numbers, are coupled with each other in the most confused manner. The following instances are stated by Sweet to occur only or mainly in poetry:

æled-fýr	hord-máððum
bréost-sefa	hréð-sigor
camp-wig	lagu-strèam
céar-sorg	máðm-gestréon
déað-cwealm	mód-sefa
dolg-benn	morþor-slieht
ende-déað	~ cwealm
eored-þréat	sǽ-holm
féond-scaða	sinc-gestréon
feorh-líf	~ -máððum
fréa-drihten	swylt-cwalu
glíw-dréam	~ déað
gryre-broga	wielle-burne
heal-reced	~ flód
hord-gestréon	wudu-béam

Prose instances:

ágend-fréa	búr-cot[3]
ǽht-wela	cíepe-léac
borg-wedd 'pledge'	cnéow-sibb
bexéa[2]	cniht-iugoþ

[1] The first member in *gang-weg* may also be apprehended either as the stem or as the action noun of *gangan.*

[2] becc + ea: 'ðanon on réaden bexéan', Midd.

[3] 'bed-chamber'; búr 'chamber; cottage, villa', cot 'cottage house; chamber'.

cræt- wǽn	rǽd-geþeaht
éa-stréam	rím-getæl
éad-wela	sand-céosol
eored-werod	scrid-wægn
~ gerid	stéor-oxa
esne-wyrhta	stéor-róðor
hæfer-gát [1]	wǽge-pundern
hrægl-gewǽde	wielle-spryng
leger-bedd	winde-locc
locc-feax	wudu-weald
~ gewind	wynblis (Swaen, E. St. 37,
mægð-sibb	190).

In ME the cases are scarce:

bodeword, burþ-beryng (a 1300 Pains of Hell: 'And slowyn here childer in ~'), *feond-scaðe* (Lay. 26039), *galhe-forke* (Ancren R., SB), *holt-wode, margerie-perle* (14—16th c), *offring-lac* (Orrm 639), *scoute-wach, sea-ocean* or *sea of ocean* (= L. mare oceanum, NED); *burȝ-town* was, further, tautological in this period, e. g. in the older Wyclifite version, Joshua VII 2 'of the ~ Bethel', but in OE *tún* meant 'enclosure', and when 'borough' became specialized in meaning, the cp of course lost its tautological character. As a cp of this category we may also count Orrm's *kaserr-king* (Att Rome . . . burȝhess ~ 8271).

As to tautological hybrids resulting from the coupling of French and English synonyms, I have a few addi-

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[1] WW 199,4; rendering of caper; according to Sievers' opinion, expressed in Anglia XIII 320, it should be read *hæfer, gát.*

A similar emendation ought to be made, it seems to me, in WW 758,26

hic edus
hic capriolus } a *kyd lomb.*
hic edulus

tions to make to those given by Koeppel. He mentions: *love-amour, love-drury*, *wonder-mervaile*, and *citetoun*. In Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon frequently occurs the combination *hil mount* as an epithet to names of mountains. Mätzner has collected the following examples (Altengl. Sprachpr. p. 348, note): þe hil mons Olympus, þe hil mount Parnassus, þe hille mons Athos, þe hille mons Libany, þe hille mont Atlas, þet hil mont Etna. This curious and constantly recurring doubling of the idea can be accounted for by assuming that the translator took 'mont' to be a part of the name, which gains some support by the circumstance that in some cases he has put in the Latin word 'mons' unchanged.

Shakespeare Rich. II (III. i. 23.) has *Forrest Woods;*[1] other Early MnE cases are *chamber-roome*[2] and *navy-fleet.*[3] A MnE instance of universal currency is *court-yard*, which is stated to have first occurred in the 16th century. And Carlyle has *love-court.*[4]

Further MnE instances are — Koeppel has only *hap-hazard* —: 1567 *bridewife,*[5] 1583 *foam froth,*[6] 1591 *Marchant Mercers,*[7] 1624 *Bogmire,*[8] 1639 *league-union,*[9] a 1658 *hag-witch*[10] (*witch-hag* = 'swallow' CD) 1790 *bond-*

[1] You have .. felled my ∼.

[2] Bp. Hall 1627: Satan may look in at my doores .. but he shall not haue .. one ∼ to sojourn in.

[3] Luttrell 1693: seamen .. to serve on board the ∼.

[4] Fr. Revol. II: 9: He is paying some similitude of ∼ to a .. chambermaid.

[5] Turbero: Ne didst thou cause a marriage bed for ∼ to be drest.

[6] Stanyhurst: In ∼ picturs, wyth Troian treasur, ar vpborne.

[7] Sylvester: You ∼ and Monopolites, Gain-greedy chapmen.

[8] Capt. Smith: they took me prisoner in a ∼.

[9] Glapthorne: Palmes (That do with amorous mixture twine their boughes into a ∼).

[10] Cleveland: May some old ∼ get astride Thy Bung, as if the meant to ride.

slave. *Head* in the sense of 'the source of a river or stream' (NED head 16) combines with synonymous words into cpp that have been current since the 16th century: *fountain-head, head-spring, spring-head;* an isolated ME case is *heued-welle.*[1] Other modern examples:

1809 *scale-balance,* 1822 *Pumpkin Gourd,*[2] 1843 (Marryat) *fir-pine,* 1899 *palace-castle,*[3] 1846 *coal-coke, pussy-cat,*[4] *stream-current,*[5] *subject-matter, ocean-sea,*[6] *litter-bier,*[6] *mail-armour.*

dust-haze (Kipl.), fog-smoke (Scott), *pit-hole, whirligig; brake-fern,*[7] *adder-and-snake plant;*[8] *line of rope.*

In Modern Language Notes XIX: 223 Mr. L. Cooper gives a very uncritically chosen collection, chiefly, from Coleridge, of what he takes to be tautological cpp, many of which, however, do not show the least trace of tautology. True cases are: Wordsworth *whirl-blast,* Coleridge *cavern-well, fog-damps, mountain-hills, ringlet-curl, storm-blast;* Milton *cordial-julep.*

The causes of tautological and pleonastical formations are in many cases obscure, but often fairly certain conclusions can be drawn, and sometimes the causes are even obvious.

Even Grimm had noticed the plentiful occurrence of tautologies in OE poetry and he partly associ-

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[1] Gen. & Ex. On ~ of flum Jordan. Cf. the OE place-name wulf-*wælles heafod.*

[2] Hortus Anglicus: Cucurbita Pepo, Pompion or ~.

[3] J. H. Metcalfe: A ~ similar to Sheriff-Hutton.

[4] 1837 Marryat: The term ~ may be considered tautological.

[5] Encycl. Brit.: A current whose onward movement is sustained by the vis a tergo of a drift-current is called a ~.

[6] Tennyson, Baust. 204.

[7] Ray 1691: »*brake-fern* is a general word all England over, and better known in this country than fern; indeed the only word in use among the vulgar, who understand not *fern*» (quoted by Wright, Dial. Dict.). — Note that *fern-brake* = fern-thicket.

[8] Wright, Dial. Dict.

ated them with alliteration, partly characterised them as giving to descriptions «stärke und schönheit» (Gram. II 547), and p. 442 we read: «Der sprache scheint manchmahl das einzelne wort zu gering, sie will ihm durch beifügung eines verwandten mehr nachdruck verschaffen, nicht grade seinen begriff abändern».

Rhetorical amplification was no uncommon phenomenon in OE, as is shown by the above examples, but still commoner were conjunctional phrases, such as *þéaw 7 gewunan, préostas 7 Godes þeowas,* which may be held to be the prototype of tautological cpp. Such phrases are, according to Hart (Miscellany to Furnivall p. 150), a distinguishing feature of the OE Bede translation.

Alliteration plays a rôle in late formations too, as in the case of *foam-froth,* whose alliterative character is evident from the connection quoted; another instance is without doubt *hap-hazard.* In regard to poetry one circumstance more may mentioned, viz. the great use of this kind of cp in versification. Take, for instance, Béowulf 1369: 'heorot hornum trum holt-wudu séce'. In building up this verse the poet certainly must have found the second element very welcome to fill up the metre. And the Shaksperian *forest wood* may very well owe its formation to such considerations, the passage running as follows:

> Whilst you have fed upon my signories,
> Disparked my parks and fell'd my forest woods.

Most tautological cpp, it seems to me, can be accounted for by what Grimm says about vigour and beauty of expression, in addition to one circumstance more, namely, that in expressing an idea one does not always choose the shortest way, nay, when hearing other people talk, we often make the observation that they have an inclination to using unnecessary words. Shortness and terseness of expression is oftener the result of effort

towards that end than the immediate outcome of a simple thinking act. The formation of tautological cpp is counteracted by the critical analysis of reflection, which is more called upon to operate when two synonymous words are to be united into a cp than when they are combined syntactically. When that reflecting analysis is not present, tautological cpp are liable to occur, e. g. in children's speech (pussy-cat, goosey-gander). Here even iterative cpp are common (Sw. vov-vov).

See, further, Noreen, who has dealt with this subject in Spridda Studier I (Stockholm 1895).

As tautological in a wider sense may also be considered status

2. *Definitivus:* acc. el. a specialisation of chief el. The difference is that here the second element is not synonymous with, but the genus proximum to the first. In this status we can distinguish between cases in which the tautology is constant, the acc. el. never occurring as a separate word in the sense of the cp, and such in which it is facultative. The latter category is by far the most numerous, e. g. MnE *copsewood, cuckoo-bird* (Sh.) the *Eugenie frigate, flood-tide, greyhound dog* (TW 1911 $^{256}/_{4}$), *gum-resin, horse-beast,*[1] *minstrel-poet, hurricane of wind* (Stevenson), *kerb-stone, mirror-glass* (16th c), *moorman, page-boy, pageant-thing* (16th c), *pelt-skin* (17th c = pelt 'the skin of a sheep or goat with short wool on'), *pimple eruption, pit-hole,* the *Queen-lady* (Carlyle, French Rev. 2, 11, about Marie Antoinette), *roadway, skiff-boat, sledge-hammer, tallow-grease,* the *Times newspaper, torchlight;* ME *drizman, font-fat, heoven-riche, maide wimman, marbel-stone, mastif hunde, morþ-dede, mülne-hous, pykeffysh, sapphire stone* (Wyclif) *Scot-leode, teghel-stan, ulmtre;* OE *bern-hús* (BT Suppl.), *drýman, éðelland, hafoc-fúgol, igland, mægdenmann, ma-*

[1] C 1640 'Lands which suffice for the breeding of an ~ or *Rother beast*'.

pul-tréow, setl-gang, wergield (= wer 'legal money-equivalent of a person's life'), *wífmann*. In all these cases the chief element is a more or less unnecessary explanatory addition, because the word conveys the same meaning without it. However, in some cases the addition may be of an explanatory nature, the uncompounded form being of rare occurrence *(moorman, peltskin)*. To a sailor the 2nd element in *skiffboat* is unnecessary, but to a landsman it may not be so.

The other category is not so numerous. Here are two possibilities. Either the sense of the cp is not identical with that of the single word: *cotton* is not the same as *cotton-wool; cross, fisher* not the same as *sign of the cross, fisherman* — or the single word has grown obsolete. In the latter case the second element is an explanatory addition, through which the obsolete or obsolescent word has fresh life breathed into it. It is noteworthy that this additional element is never a synonymous word, but one with a wider sense. Examples are *causeway, greyhound, raspberry. Cockboat,* although belonging here, cannot be put in the same category as the others, because the simplex *cock* is not older than the cp — rather the contrary. 'Mór' and 'ort' in OE *mór-béam* and *ortgeard* were never used as single words; they had their explanatory additions tacked on to them immediately on being borrowed.

3. Interferentiæ: the elements cover each other partially (the same relation as is generally termed appositional). Common: *cock-chafer, guardian-angel, knight-bachelor, loan-word, merchant-tailors, ring-relic, soldier-priest, toy airgun, pillar-cross; father-dust,*[1] *Madame-towne;*[2] ME *fesant cocke, hæfed-burh, idiotes prestes, kyng*

[1] 'The fructifying powder in the anther of flowers' (1728—46 Thomson: Spring From family diffused to family, as flies the ~. The varied colours run).

[2] 1593 G. Harvey: Flourishing London, the Staple of Wealth. & ~.

deuyl, Marchauntes Adventurers; OE *ælmes-bæþ, bansnaca, bed-bǽr* (BT Suppl.), *ealdor-sácerd, gúð-caru, gyrlgyden* (Vesta), *hunig-gafol* 'rent paid in honey', *stæfsweord, wudu-wésten.*

A special group of this state consists of those cpp in which acc. el. defines the sex or age of chief el.: MnE *man-cook, bondmaid, infant phenomenon;* OE *hysecild, eowo-humele, fearr-hrýðer.*

Status qualificationis:

acc. el. denotes an attribute or quality of chief el.

1. *Materiæ*: acc. el. the matter of which chief el. consists: MnE *brickhouse, gravel walk, house-row, language family, leaf-sky* (poet.) *peat-earth;* ME *hey rek, ire-gere, lyʒt-bem, myst-hakel* 'mist-cloak', *pet myre, water-drinch;* OE *bóc-gestréon, giecel-stán, hegerǽw, hrýðerheord, íses gicel, sinbyrðen, witenagemót.*

2. *Figuræ:* the reverse of preceding state; rare. MnE *bale-goods, bar gold, circuit journey, file-marching, island kingdom, loaf-sugar, plate-metal, plug-tobacco, river-rain* (Baust. 205); *four-act piece, two-storey house.*

3. *Qualitativus:* acc. el. denotes a quality in chief el. In MnE for the most part expressed by group-compounding, e. g. *man of honour.* Strong composition comparatively rare: *beauty-spot* (= 'a place of special beauty'), *breath off-glide,*[1] *coalition ministry, draft-ewe* (= 'one drafted or selected from the flock'), *fool-fury* (Tennyson), *glory-throne, hair-brain fellow, iron-age, low-pressure engine, passage-bird, quality-horse; aidgeman* (16th c. = 'an old man'); ME *main hors, sorh sið, weoreld ahte, wunder-craft;* in OE instances abound: *bealoband, bismer-léoþ, caru-gást, ellen-dǽd, fǽr-blǽd, worulдhlaford.*

4. *Præbentis:* acc. el. possesses the quality in-

[1] 'Swedish final voiced stops... seem to be shorter than in English, and to have a stronger ~' (Sweet).

dicated by chief el.: MnE *blood-hound instinct, citizen life, class-prejudice, day-light, father-strength,*[1] *lion-colour* (or st. attrib.), *man-power, mob opinion, muscle atrophy, nature force, priestcraft, race character;* ME *driȝ-craft, mon-þewes;* OE *bǽl-þracu, deofol-cræft, niht-glom, sé-hete, sumor-hǽte, wǽg-þréa.*

5. *Respectivus:* acc. el. denotes the point of view from which chief el. is regarded, or in relation to which it is valid. Most common. MnE *accommodation theory, apple-arbiter* (Paris; Baust. 202), *bed-fellow, body-being*[2] *cotton famine, fisheries act, fist-mate, lip-christian, peace-congress, pen-master, power of reflection, son-in-law;* ME *hertȝeld* 'hearthpenny', *lond-gauel, loue drem, plow efere, slep-leaste, stef-creft;* OE *é-créft, freónd-spéd* 'abundance of friends', *gást-sunu, griþ-lagu, scrúd-fultum, scéam-léast.*

Status dependentiæ.

1. *Causativus:* acc. el. denotes ground, cause or reason for chief el. Common. MnE *birth-right, death-knell, eyehope* 'hope arising from the appearance of a thing', *fever-thirst, hunger-pinch, jubilee post-card, † mercy-stroke, sea-sickness;* ME *est-dede, loue teres, niht-drede, rein-bowe;* OE *beado-cwealm, blódwíte, ciele-wearte, ellen-mǽrþo, gyte-sél, hóf-rec, þistel-gebléde, wæpen-hete.*

2. *Normativus:* acc. el. is the norm or directive point of view of chief el. Rare. MnE *calendar-month lump-work, nature-curu, plough-alms;*[3] OE *regol-líf, sulh-ælmessan.*

3. *Consecutivus* (or resultativus): acc. el. denotes the consequence or effect (or result) of chief el. MnE

[1] 'The child in that bright season gaineth the ~' (1871 B. Taylor).

[2] If all ~ in the world were destroyed (a 1652).

[3] 'church-due .. consisting of one penny per annum for each plough-land'.

death-stab, death-feud, grave-digger, house-building, life-touch, linen-manufacture, luck-penny, nail-smith, plague-bacillus; ME *balu-feht, lynen wever, mæle makers;* OE *cwielde-flód, déaþ-cwealm, hete-rún* 'charm causing mischief', *hrá-fiell, wæl-regn, wæpen-hete* 'hate or malice evincing itself in the use of weapons'.

Correlative resultative — i. e. acc. el. denotes the means of effecting the result expressed by chief el. — is present en MnE *letter-writer, oil-press, novel-mill* (1797 Mrs. Robinson), *sausage-machine, sleeping-draught;* OE *deaþ-spere, eletredde, hælo-bearn* (Christ), *spiw-drenc, win-wringa, wind-scofl* 'fan'.

4. *Finis* acc. el. expresses purpose or aim of chief el. Exceedingly common. MnE *armour plate, dressing-gown, danger sign, fireplace, girls' school, post office;* ME *mynde tocne, met amri* 'cupboard', *mylke payle, nail-sax, plow-bestes;* OE *æl-nett, bén-dagas, gebeorg-stów, gléd-scofl, hláf-ofn, munuc-cild.*

Largely coinciding with this state are the status

5. *commodi* and *incommodi.* MnE *bird-cage, pig-wash, Peter-penny; eye-pleasure, creature comforts, pear-blight, plant food; cough-drops, debtors' prison, dust-cloak, fire-insurance; date-disease, horse sickness, plant-bug;* ME *atterlaþe* 'antidote to poison', *deofel-ʒild, lond-üvel, millar quarreour* 'one who quarries millstones for a miller', *orf-cwalm;* OE *ciric-sceatt, eorl-ryht, fæder-feoh,*[1] *hád-bót* 'compensation for injury to priest', *hláford-hyldo, mannysmete, Romgescot, scúr-beorg, þéor-drenc, wif-gift.*

Closely related to the finis state is also what I term

6. status *functionis*, i. e. acc. el. denotes — not the purpose but — the actual function of chief el.: MnE *dead-letter office, hay-barn, horse-doctor, ictus-use,*[2] *link-*

[1] 'marriage-portion of widowed daughter returned to the father'.

[2] 'the occasional ~ of subordinate accents' (Bright in Miscellany to Furnivall).

boy, milk-duct, music-shop; ME *cheping-boþe, lad-þeow, kechyn boye, reil-þein;* OE *mylen-troh.*

7. *Instrumenti:* acc. el. denotes the instrument of the action indicated by chief el.: MnE *card-sharper, foot-step, fisti-cuff, fire-baptism, gesture-speech, hand-promise* (Baust. 203), *needle-puncture, oar-stroke, pigeon-post, tooth-wound, water-works;* ME *fot-steppe, hand-dede;* OE *æsc-plega, gierd-wíte, ísen-ordál, lind-gelác, scip-færeld, sweord-bite, wægn-faru.*

As an inverted instrumenti we may denote the relation in such cases as *pass-word, pass-key, passage-money.*

A variety of the instrumenti presents that state in which the chief el. denotes, not the action itself, but its (personal or impersonal) performer, e. g. MnE *air-brake, eye-witness, foot-passenger, hand-pump, steam-engine, sword-player, tongue-fighter, wind-mill;* ME *hond-sæx, hamer betere;* OE *hand-eweorn, múþ-bana* 'devourer'.

7. *Subjectivus:* acc. el. denotes the performer or subject of that which is expressed by chief el. e. g. MnE *boys' game, cock-crow, daybreak, dog-sleep, earthquake, muscle-twitch, plant-movement, sunrise, water-fall, writers' cramp;* Tennyson (Baust., p. 200 foll.): *city-roar, even-fall, fool-fury, phantom warning, thunder-sketch,*[1] *woman-yells;* ME *dweomer lac, feond-rœs, fuȝel fliȝt, gate schadil* 'parting of roads', *hœrte brest, here-gong,* OE *bǽl-blǽse, blód-ryne, brim-wielm, cumbol-gehnád, folc-slite* 'sedition', *fréond-lár, god-spréce, líc-hryre, sǽcierr.*

8. *Objectivus:* MnE *alsmdeed,*[2] *childbirth, churchwarden, cupboard love, dogbane, God's service, goldsmith, jewel-hunger, land-sale;* ME *keiherde, men-slaers, meracles doynge, penydale, plogwryth;* OE *ælmes-gedál, bytt-fylling, hrið-hiorde, mannes qwellere, rinde-clifer.* This extremely common type becomes still more so if

[1] 'a momentary ~ of lake and land'.

[2] from the early phrase 'to do alms', NED.

— which is quite in accordance with Noreen's definition of this status — we class here such examples as *harpoon gun, honey-bee, language-master, mill-race, mud-volcano, pie-woman, pigeon-hawk,* in which, it is true, the verb-notion must be added mentally, but which are none the less objective cpp.

Objectivus *correlativus:* MnE *dog-whip, leather-polisher, nutcracker, penknife, tooth brush, thumb-screw;* OE *édre-seax, flán-boga, hrægl-sceara, stán-bill, wull-camb.*

9. *Provenientiæ:* acc. el. origin of chief el. a) procreatoris: in MnE not expressed by strong composition, in the old language, rare: ME *süster sone,* OE *bróþor-dohtor, gígant-mæcg, sun-sunu;* b) *work of genius, the Asquith policy,* OE *scop-léoþ;* c) originis: Very common. MnE *beeswax, beetsugar, bank-note, coal-tar, committee report, life-experience, mole hill, rain-bow, sea-change* ('change wrought by the sea', Shakesp.), ME *amete-hill, fern asshen, flee byte, fotspor, gayte mylke;* OE *æppel-wín, æsc-tír* 'spear-glory', *béam-sceadu, candel-leoht, eorþ-wéstm.*

11. *Producti:* acc. el. denotes the product of chief. el.: MnE † *bride-mother, gas-works, gum-tree, knowledge-tree* (16th c.), *life-germ, milk-sow, musk-deer, oil-plant, river-head, rose bud, sugar-beet, tree of life;* ME *melon seed, wife modir, wín-treow.*

12. *Reciprocitatis:* acc. el. denotes something that stands in a near relation to chief el., without either of them having a more original or subordinated position. Is not represented in MnE composition; older instances very scarce: Early MnE *father brother, father sister;* ME a *feldman wyfe* (may also be syntactical); OE *brýdguma.*

13. *Possessivus:* there is a relation of possession, or of one disposing of, governing, or commanding the other. a) possessoris: MnE *Bank of England,*

beast-body, birdseye, college servant, critic-pen (Baust. 200) *crown woods, department officials, elf-land, hospital nurse, king-gear* (Carlyle), *parish church, state-revenues, town hall, university professor;* cpp with personal appellatives are but rarely found (cf. p. 118). ME *folc king, fox whelp, kyng hous, parisch preest, Scot-lond;* OE *cúċage, Franc-land;* b) possessionis: ME *bargemaster, elf-queen, Exchequer chancellor, house-owner, landlord, sheep-master* (Bible); ME *eorðe ware, huse-lefdi;* OE *gumdryhten, here-rǽswa, húshláford, léod-fruma, þéod-ewén, þúsend-rica.*

Status concordiæ.

1. *Similativus:* acc. el. indicates sth to which chief el. resembles. MnE *bag-trousers, blood-hound mob, cavern-throat* (Tennys.), *coral lips, cough-laugh* (Carlyle), *feather-stitch, giant-dwarf* (Shakesp. 'with a giant's strength'), *moss rose, tape-worm;* ME *golde worme, ring worme, whirl-bon;* OE *eofor-cumbol, hóc-ísern, hors-hwæl, mele-déaw, trind-hyrst, trog-scip, wǽg-sweord.*

As inverted similatives we may regard Tennyson's *ocean-mirrors* and Swinburne's *cloud-surf,* if they do not belong in the status interferentiæ. So OE *sǽ-fæsten.*

2. *Analogiæ:* acc. el. denotes sth in which can be noticed sth analogous to the chief el.: MnE *bird's skill,*[1] *carl-hemp,*[2] *dog-trot, eagle-circles, flame-colour, horse-laugh, organ-voice, pigtail, thistledown lightness,*[3] *a drowned-rat look, a ruffian thirst of blood;* ME *paleis chaumbres;* OE *god-gimm, hær-sceard.*

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[1] 'his ~ to make his level flight' (Kipl.).

[2] 'the *female* or seed-bearing hemp-plant, which is of stronger growth, and produces a coarser fibre'.

[3] 'they put their feet down with ~' (Rev. of Rev. 1909, p. 246).

FIFTH CHAPTER.

Bahuvrihi compounds.

This group of cpp forms semologically a group that is entirely detached from all others, the point being here, not the relation between the members, but the signification of the whole.

As to the definition of bahuvrihi, there are two contrary opinions among linguists. Some hold that by this term should be designated solely what Sweet calls 'conversion-cpp' (NEGr. § 1545), i. e. such as have the function of adjectives. Cf, for instance, BRUGMANN-DELBRÜCK (Grundr. 2: 1, p. 72 foll.), who classes the bahuvrihi-cpp under the heading of «exozentrische» cpp, in which «zu den Vorstellungen, die durch die isolierten Kompositionsbestandteile ausgedrückt sind ... jedesmal das Bedeutungselement hinzugekommen ist, dass die Begriffseinheit der Zusammensetzung einem ausserhalb stehenden Substantivbegriff als Eigenshaft beigelegt ist». The same opinion is advocated by SCHROEDER, 'Ueber die formelle Scheidung der Redetheile', Leipz. 1874. On the other hand, OSTHOFF, in 'das Verbum in der Nominalcomposition', Jena 1878, asserts that the adjectival character is merely a secondary one, whereas the substantival is the primary. «Also Substantiva waren die Bahuvrihi durchaus und nur durch die hinzukommende Metaphor» (p. 132). BOPP gives (Vergl. Gramm. 3rd ed., III: 455) a definition which I for my part agree with: 'Die Composita dieser Klasse

drücken als Adjective oder Appellative den Besitzer dessen aus, was die einzelnen Teile der Zusammensetzung bedeuten, so das der Begriff des Besitzenden immer zu supplieren ist'.

There is, however, one circumstance more which is not alluded to in either of these definitions, but which seems to be generally taken as another distinctive mark of bahuvrihi-cpp, namely, that the first element should stand in a predicative relation to the second — e. g. *red-breast* = '(a bird whose) breast (is) red' — which practically implies that the second element must be — actually or figuratively — the name of some part of the body or, at least, of some piece of clothing. This is emphasized by, e. g. K. F. Johansson.[1] But according to Bopp's definition such cpp as *coat-armour* — in the 16—17th c sense of 'one who bears a ~' — and *silver-lines* (a moth) are not excluded from this group, i. e. such where the cp denotes some casual characteristic. Against this extension of the concept of bauvrihi there may, however, be objected that, in such a case, a bahuvrihi would not differ in character from uncompounded pars-pro-toto denominations *(buttons)*. This objection seems so weighty as to settle the matter. In fact, it is of little importance since the *silver-lines* type is very rarely instanced in modern literature, and in OE it did not occur at all, to judge from the material collected by STORCH (Angels. Nom. comp.).

As regards substantival bahuvrihi, they seem not to have existed in the older stages of English.[2] Storch, who deals in detail with OE bahuvrihi, does not give a single instance; nor have I come across any. We have to go as far down as the sixteenth century ere we find any examples of this formation. Spenser has

[1] Nom. cpp in Gothic, Nordiska Studier, Upsala 1904.

[2] *wulfes-héafod* might, perhaps, be classed here, but cpp of the type *wan-fóta* are irrelevant.

fork-head ('a forked or barbed arrow'), which was, however, later ousted by *forked-head.* Similarly, the 16—17th c. cp *haire-braine* grew obsolete, n. b. in the substantival sense. Other obsolete instances are:

16th c: *horn-nose* 'rhinoceros'; 17th c: *clodpole* (Shakesp.), *cluster-fist, elf-skin* (Shakesp.) 'a man of shrivelled and sunken form', *fish-face,* (Fletcher), *flight-head* 'a wild-headed person', *horn-head* (Fletcher, Vulcan a limping ~, for Venus his wife was a strumpet). *Grout-head* or *groutnoll* is instanced from the 16—17th c in the sense of 'blockhead', from the 17—18th c in that of 'a person with a big head'. *Sheepshead* is obsolete in the sense of 'a fool', but still in use as the name of a fish (CD).

Modern examples:
1) names of persons:

butterfingers	hump-back
blockhead	jolt-head
corkbrain	lily-liver
dough-face	log-head[1]
feather-brain	pudding-head
feather-head	pig-face
hound's head	rattlebrain.

This type of bahuvrihi is not infrequent in narrations dealing with primitive man; from Jack London 'Before Adam' I quote further: *Hair-Face, Marrow-Bone, Sabre-Tooth.*

As is evident from the preceding examples, the bahuvrihi-form has often the special function of a nickname. The following extract from the Pickwick Papers contains two more expressive instances: (Mr Winkle is awakened by raps on the door and asks who is there)

[1] Shakesp. has *loggerhead.*

»Don't stop to ask questions, *cast-iron head,* replied the long man... Come, look sharp, *timber eye-lids,* added the other encouragingly.

2) names of animals and plants:

bullhead (a fish)
cotton-mouth (a snake)
cross-bill
fin-back (a whale)
fork-tail
horn-bill
Iron-feet[1]
jelly-back[2]
lilac-throat (a bird, CD)
lobe-foot (a bird)
racket-tail
silver-eyes } fishes
silver-sides }
threadfoot (plant)[3]
wrinkle-skin[4]

In by far the majority of cases the sense-relation between the members is the status similativus or analogiæ, the only exceptions among the cases here recorded being *Hair-Face* and *Marrow-Bone.* In substantival bahuvrihi the relation is, therefore, not a purely predicative one.

Of adjectival bahuvrihi with a subst. for the first element OE presents a very limited number.[5] Storch mentions the following certain cases: *gealgmód, gúðmód, hringmǽl, mihtmód, stýlecg, wulfheort.* I add *nihtéage* 'able to see at night', and *salo-pád* 'dark-coated' (pád, f. 'coat').

Then there is the question as to whether conversion-compounds exist in later times. Shall we, in combinations such as 'red-nose innkeeper', 'light-foot hours', regard 'red-nose' and 'light-foot' as adjectives or as sub-

[1] the bear; Kipling, Leeb-Lundb., p. 39.
[2] ibid., p. 54.
[3] NED river-weed.
[4] the cobra; Leeb-L., p. 46.
[5] Sweet (NE Gr. § 1546) does not admit the existence of any at all in English.

stantival first elements in cpp? Sweet does not mention the matter. But FRANZ takes it for granted that such constructions in Shakespeare contain conversion-cpp (Shakesp.-Gram., 2 Aufl. § 138). DYBOSKI likewise, in reference to Tennyson (Baust. 206). My view is, however, that the question is, to say the least, debatable. There is no difficulty in OE to decide if a cp is converted or not, as the criterion of inflection is always available. In MnE, on the other hand, there is no such infallible criterion, and it has been pointed out in the introduction that in many cases the one or the other interpretation is little more than a matter of taste. Regarding this kind of expression, no objective reasons can be alleged for the contention that we have here to deal with adjectives. Rather the contrary can be proved, for it cannot be said 'that man is red-nose' or 'very red-nose' or 'more red-nose than the other'. If such criteria are brought to bear, only a few isolated cases stand the test, e. g. *barefoot, hare-foot.* (Such «nonce-use» phenomena as 'The wind was very *fish-tail* and trickly' [1891 Daily News, formed on the basis of the sailor's expression 'fish-tail wind] prove nothing.) The impossibility, however, of always deciding the matter even with these criteria is palpable from the following examples: 'Died himself *Frog-colour*' (1836 B. D. Welsh), 'all the steel was left *rose-colour* by the heat' (1911 Stand. Feb. 16 7/6). In these examples the italicized words may be predicative adjectives, but just as well they may be interpreted as being analogous to 'an axle twisted (in) *horseshoe shape*'. NED is arbitrary when it denotes e. g. *fykel-tonge* (lyere) (Langland), *flat-bottom* (boat), *flat-head* (indian) as real adjectives, but *light-head* (fits) as 'quasi adj.' and *long-tail* (tit) and *basket-hilt* (sword) as being used 'attributively'.

However, the circumstance that this category of cp cannot be classed with certainty as adj. does not pre-

clude that some of them may be continued OE conversion-cpp, or that they were first formed on that analogy e. g. Swinburne's *fleet-foot* kid.

Whatever their real character may be, they play a rather unimportant rôle in the modern language — except in poetry — since they represent no living principle of word-formation, their function being now regularly expressed by the parasynthetic suffix *-ed.*

Addenda.

P. 15 B 1 b: MnE *garston, gerston,* OE gærstún, «obs. exc. dial. and hist.»; *margrave,* 16th c. mergraue, marcgraue; *standish* < *stand-dish. † *canstick* 'app. a contracted form of candlestick', 16th c. *canstyk.*

p. 20 B 2: ME *oxarde* c. 1425 WW; MnE *wristband,* in everyday speech offen pronounced 'rizbənd'. OE *duraword, herepoð, lēcword, sīdfot, erfewærd,* regarding which see Bülbring, Ae. Elementarb. § 67. These cases are not contemporaneous with, but younger than their analytical forms.

p. 29. *cristeman* (c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom.) for the usual forms *christen(e)man.*

p. 45. ME *cristmas* had, in the 14—15th c, the by-form *cristemes;* and as late as the 16th c we find *cristimas.*

p. 49. Another instance of dubious nature is the Scotch word *hurley-house,* recorded from Scott, 'a large house fallen into disrepair or nearly in ruins'. Cf. NED *hurl* sb. 4 'a downward rush; esp. a violent and noisy rush of stones etc. down a steep slope'.

Dr. Sperber has called my attention to a case analogous to *workaday,* viz. *blackamoor,* earliest inst. 16th c, *blake More, black a Moore.* True, it is at variance with the phonetic history of the language to explain the vowel as a continuation of the ME *e,* but since it has been proved that the ME vowel can remain exceptionally, the principal reason against the as-

sumption has been removed, even if the circumstances that have conditioned the retention of the vowel are obscure.

p. 52. The American word *rooming-house* 'residential hotel' contains a similar improper use of *ing*, as no verbal sense of 'room' is current.

p. 56. Two more cases are *sæd-ate* 'oat-seed' and *sæd-hwæte* 'wheat-seed', recorded by Stratmann-Bradley.

p. 57. *ledger-ambassador: ambassador-ledger, mole-rat: rat-mole. Gooseygander* never occurs in other form than this in its usual sense, but there exists also a dialectal form *gandergoose,* which is a denomination of the plant Orchis maculata. *Bed-rock; rock-bed, fossil-cork: cork-fossil.*

p. 58. *horse-colt; hound-bitch: bitch-hound; fox-bitch* (a 1611); *roe doe* (1570). — *Note. nettle-hemp: hemp-nettle* (Galeopsis Tetrahit).

An unusual example of variation presents the cp *† plate-silver: silver-plate,* in whose first form the relation is the status definitivus.

p. 68. Ex. of G. influence afford cpp with *ground:* -form, etc.

p. 76. c 1400 Apol. Loll. *felawis bischops;* 1377 Langland *Marchauntes Adventurers, idiotes prestes.*

p. 86. 1632 Brome. Gallants and *Friends-spectators* .. will ye see ..

p. 87. appositional: 1901 Westm. Gaz. *manmilliners:* non. appos.: 15 .. Harl. MS *oxengate,* 1581 W. Fulte *mise dung,* 1609 Holland *mice skinnes,* 1642 Trapp *Mice-catchers,* 1672 Sc. Acts Chas. *oxingaite;* 1823 Mechanics Mag. *claw-feet pillar,* 1870 Miss Broughton 'a young *oats-fed* mare', 1880 *marks-paper* 'a paper for recording students' or other merit marks'.

p. 150. Further examples of the latter category of the st. definitivus: MnE *actorman* 18th c, *barley-corn* 14—18th c, *brothel-house* (confounded with *bordel-house*),

butcherman 15th c, *crescent-curve* (Baust. 205), *eylet-hole, larder-house,* earliest instance from the 14th c, now obsolete, *merchantman* 17th c, the *Mogul East Indiaman* (TW 524), † *plate-silver, widow-woman* (Quiller-Couch, J. Const. ch. 7). ME *Arwyggyl wyrme* (Promp, Parv.), *Byttyl wyrme* (ibid.), *craggestone* (ibid.), *fooman, or enmy* (ibid.), *feeld place* (1382 Wyclif, Jhesu . . stod in a ~), *lykpote ffinger* (Promp. Parv.), *presunhowse* c 1475 (Pictorial Voc. WW; *prison-house* still occurs), *sandal-shoon.* In the Promptorium entries *'bek water,* rendyl: Riuulus' and *'Brokwater;* Riuulus' 'water' apparently has the sense of 'watercourse'; cf. ibid. 'bank of water, ripa' with 'bank of the see, litus'. OE *él-fisc, æmet-hwil, bere-corn, brèc-hrœgl, cniht-geogoþ, dǽd-weorc, eard-land, eorþ-stede, fic-æppel, heoru-wæpen, marm-stán, nunn-fæmne, sealm-léoþ.* — To the other category belong *hobbyhorse* (rare in the sense of 'favourite pursuit'), *husbandman*[1] and *tomboy,* and in *herdsman* we have another instance of an explanatory addition on account of obsoleteness.

The genus proximum is often added pleonastically to a word if attention is to be specially directed to it, e. g. in making divisions, enumerations, etc., such as *noun-words* and *adjective-words* (Sweet § 104). Sometimes its presence is simply owing to the fact that the speaker wishes to emphasize the genus of the word ('yea, *Delhi town* was very near', Kipl. Barr. Room Ball.)

[1] *husband* obsolete in the sense of 'farmer' in the 17th c.

ERRATA.

p. 2, line 3 from top, read *linguistic;*
p. 26, » 7 » » » *scyld;*
p. 32, » 1 foot-note: the comma should stand after cp, instead of after Sweet;
p. 67, » 6 from top, read *ȝing;*
p. 80, » 7 » bottom » *with;*
p. 96, » 17 » » » *suggests;*
p. 103, » 18 » top, » 5);
p, 105, » 11 » » » *unmistakeable.*